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ABSTRACT

The symposium papers collected in this volume present a variety of perspectives on parenthood in our changing society. In the first article the effects of the women's movement on parenting are indicated. Next, different role-dimensions of mothering and teaching are clarified and discussed. The third article reports on research aiming to document, identify and examine in detail the intricacies and uniqueness of black family life, child socialization and child development. Article four discusses the maturational characteristics of teenagers, parents' needs, and issues for parents raising teenagers. The involvement of the federal government (in terms of current projects on family policies and the proposed Child Care Act of 1979) are discussed and described in the fifth article. The final article discusses forces competing for parents' attention and comments on conflicting reports and advice from "experts" in childrearing. A selected bibliography on parenthood and families is appended. (Author/RH)

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PARENTHOOD IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

Papers from a Symposium at Memphis State University

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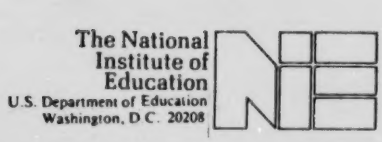

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Preface

What will it take to successfully raise children in the last decades of the twentieth century? What kinds of adults are we developing for the twenty-first century? These questions, which are inextricably related to each other, reflect the importance of parenting today and the difficulty and confusion that may accompany the role of the parent. In addition to its many rewards, parenting presents difficulties because of the changes in society, the number of choices that must be made and the highly subjective, emotional nature of family dynamics and parent-child relations. Also, contemporary parenting can be confusing because what it means to be a woman, man, child, parent and family in contemporary America is changing. Many of the principles previously used to guide roles within the family and between the family and the community have become obsolete or obscure. Confronted with these changes, parents and children have to develop new ways of relating to each other and to the institutions (schools, social agencies, government) in their lives.

The papers included in this volume suggest new ways of looking at contemporary families and discuss some of the new roles of mothers and fathers in relation to each other, to their children, to their children's teachers and counselors, and to childrearing "authorities" and government institutions. Commissioned by the Department of Home Economics and the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at Memphis State University, with Academic Enrichment funds provided by the University, these papers were presented at Memphis State University during a Symposium on Parenting that spanned three seasons: Spring 1979, Fall 1979, and Spring 1980. They are collected here for the convenience of readers interested in a variety of perspectives on parenthood in our changing society.

Among recent social changes, the women's movement has had a particularly notable impact on parenthood. Journalist Ellen Goodman articulates the effects of the women's movement on parenting and acknowledges that parenting means taking risks as we invest in the next generation.

The significance of education in the early childhood years has led some parents to assume they should play the roles of both parent and teacher for their young children. Lilian Katz is refreshingly reassuring in her recognition of the value of being a parent. Parents and teachers, she notes, can make uniquely valuable contributions to children's lives.

Not only does parenting differ from teaching, but parenting itself differs from family to family. Although the unique nature of black American family life has not been well documented to date, Jean Carew's innovative methods of studying families offer us a way to earn more about the daily lives of black toddlers being reared in a black-white society.

When children reach the teen years, the kind of parenting they need changes. William Wattenberg explores the reciprocal relationships of parents and teenage children. He advocates mutual enjoyment as an effective means of holding families together.

The diversity of families within our society calls for sensitive and responsible governmental policies. Edith Grotberg examines the role of legislation and government programs in support of parents and children.

Edward Zigler and Rosa Cascione summarize many of the forces competing for parents' attention and comment on conflicting reports and advice from "experts" in childrearing. They urge parents to be concerned not only for the rearing of their own children but for the welfare of all children in our society.

Healthy parent-child relationships may well be the most significant element in a sound society. Commitment to strengthening families is indeed a worthy goal for the 1980s.

Parenting Symposium Committee
Memphis State University
December 1980

Observations on Parenting and the Women's Movement*

Ellen Goodman

The Boston Globe

I'm an observer of social change. I think in a way every journalist is that. We write about the news, and what we write about today is wrapping the fish tomorrow. I personally have been most intrigued with changes in our society and in our private lives, and that has brought me to look at parenting. Our role as parents makes a very strong link between our public and private lives, for as parents we are both members of the wider community and individuals with very private concerns.

I've written most consistently about what I consider the single major change in my own life--the women's movement--which I think of literally as the movement of women from one pattern to multiple patterns and especially the movement of women into the work force. What I would like to talk about today is the relationship between the women's movement and the way we are as parents.

To being with, I think it is quite remarkable how much our attitude toward working mothers has changed in the 10 years I have been one. I became a mother in the usual way. . .I decided to stay home in order to give my daughter a good start in life. I didn't go back to work until she was 6½ weeks old. Seriously, though, at that time, in my office, I was the only working mother with a preschool child. When I first came back to work people kept saying things to me like, "And who takes care of your daughter while you work?" About the eighth time I was asked this question, I was tempted to say, "Oh I just leave her at home with the refrigerator door open."

Today things are quite different. Some 48% of mothers work outside the home. The Bureau of Census has finally given up asking, "Who's the head of the household?" The only mother who hasn't changed is that wonderful woman in the commercial about "ring around the collar." My sister is waiting for her to ask her husband why he doesn't wash his neck.

As an observer, I see people confronted with change in their lives. I decided several years ago to write a book about how people change, not how much or how little but how. I went around the country interviewing people. The first thing I realized was that change isn't a single thing. Change is one of those words that should have 36 definitions. For example, we all say that people resist change, and yet

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* Presented March 12, 1979

there are changes that are as uninteresting to us as a change in clothes and some as restful as a change in scene. We're most anxious about change when it threatens us with some kind of loss or crisis. In talking with people I found that they can deal with loss or changes around them in two contradictory ways. They have both the desire to beat a hasty retreat to the past and the opposite desire to take a great leap into the future. It's like preparing for a long, hard journey. We want to stay home or to know that wherever we are, we can close our eyes and be there.

In the early days of the women's movement, there was much concern about roles of men and women, fathers and mothers. Women at the time divided into two camps, two kinds of extremes. On the one side the radical feminists questioned traditional assumptions about women's roles in child bearing and child rearing. On the other hand we had a group which I can only call the radical reactionaries, among them Helen Andelin. I don't know how many of you have read her book called The Fascinating Female. It recommends, among other things, that women get off the highways. Helen Andelin is to the right of Marabel Morgan. My favorite line from Andelin's book is, "When you're having a fight with your husband, stamp your feet and beat on his chest. Men love this." Well in some ways these extremes presented the rest of us with a conflict between having to go back to a traditional family or having to go on to no family at all. This was neither possible nor palatable.

Now what has emerged out of this argument between extremes is a new middle. The appeal to the new middle can be seen in the current leadership of the pro-change and anti-change groups. Phyllis Schlafly of the "Stop the Era Movement" is the leader of the anti-change movement. She is a law student, a writer, a political activist. Her followers often cite her credentials and people will say to me, "Even though she is a mother, she. . ." On the other side you have the National Organization for Women, which is headed by a housewife, Ellie Smeal. I think this says something about the new middle that both groups are trying to appeal to. I think it notes that we all have a desire to achieve in the world without losing our home life.

When we talk about change, we're caught between what we want and what we fear. We want more and not less, particularly in the domain of families and family relationships. As the roles of men and women change we want everything we've had and more. We want independence and security. We want careers and children. In short, we want it all.

Where have these expanding desires left us as parents? I think in my own lifetime we've gone from Supermom to Superwoman. Supermom, for those of you who don't remember or don't have one, was the one who always made homemade cookies with carrot teeth and raisin eyes. She always had "something lovin' in the oven." Her kids always had homemade Halloween costumes. She had a wide wardrobe, consisting exclusively of aprons. She was always nurturing. For years we have carried her around in our heads, just for the guilt of it. Now we have replaced her with Superwoman or Supermom II, whose typical day is

something like the following: She wakes up her 2.6 children. They go downstairs and she gives them a Grade A nutritional breakfast which they eat, and they all go off to school without once forgetting their lunch money. She goes upstairs and gets dressed in her $300 Anne Klein suit and goes off to her $25,000 job which is both creative and socially useful. After work she comes home and spends a wonderful hour relating with the children, because after all it is not the quantity of time but the quality of time that is important. She then prepares a gourmet dinner for her husband. They spend time working on their meaningful relationship, after which they go upstairs where she has multiple orgasms until midnight.

What about Superdad? The Superdad is always caring, sharing. He is able to leap tall emotional boundaries in a single step at the same time he is becoming Vice President of General Motors. Fathers are supposed to be feeling, and achieving, and attending their children's school plays.

In this Supermom II and Superdad images, I find not only new strivings but a lot of fear. I see many mothers afraid to let go of their own power over their children's lives. I remember interviewing a mother with a young baby. The father had agreed to take the baby out and they were only going around the corner, but before he got the baby out of the house, she had given him a list of instructions. I see a lot of that inability to share the responsibities of parenthood.

At the same time, it is much harder to be a full time homemaker and mother. A friend of mine in Washington, D.C., told me recently that being a housewife in Washington is somewhat less socially acceptable than being a transsexual. Work outside the home was once a "no-no," then an option, and now a requirement.

I talked with a college student whose mother had recently commented, "Oh, you have so many more choices than I did." Actually I think we're living in a time when the choices are pretty tough. Choice is a funny word that means both options and decisions. Options are easier than decisions. We're living in a time when mothers and fathers are told we can have it all; yet we know we can't, because time is the ultimate pie and it's never big enough. Knowing this makes us feel like personal failures when we compare our lives to Supermom II and Superdad.

We are feeling guilty not only because we don't fulfill the old roles, but because we don't fulfill the new roles either. Our inadequacy is brought home to us by those wonderful people, the early childhood people. Now we are told that if we don't hang the right mobile over the crib at 18 months, our children will never get into Harvard at 18 years. One of my favorite advertisements, which ran in our paper, carried the following challenge from Burton White: "Will your children remember you for what you did for them or for what you did to them?" I'm grateful my daughter was four before I found out it was all over at three. This has helped our relationship enormously.

Increasingly children are being regarded as a burden in our society. An article described some of my accomplishments "in spite of the burden of having a child." I think we've oversold the burden of childrearing and undersold the pleasure of childrearing. Take the value of self-sacrifice and the value of self-fulfillment. For most of our past women maintained the value of self-sacrifice while men were committed to self-fulfillment. There is no inherent conflict between self-sacrifice and self-fulfillment, at least in parenting. Parenting means taking risks; it means investing in the next generation. It represents a rare attempt in our society to find personal fulfillment through doing for others. It comes with a degree of self-sacrifice. It also represents an effort to achieve a balance between our natural urges to support self and to support others.

At the same time there are some very real problems that come with parenting in a changing society. This is why I have emphasized our own changing roles as adults. I am pro-family and pro-change. Margaret Mead once said, "The only way to solve the disruption that comes from change is by more change." And I think that is true. How many of the personal problems of persons that we know would be solved by social solutions? Equal pay, day care, new kinds of help would all make a significant difference. Can we have it all? Perhaps not. With some help, however, we can have a rich life as parents.

Contemporary Perspectives on the Roles of Mothers and Teachers*

Lilian G. Katz

University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana

There has been a lot of loose talk in recent years about the problems facing American families. Newspapers and magazines have capitalized on and perhaps contributed to a mounting sense of alarm over the imminent disappearance of "the family." The 1980 White House Conference on the Family was reported to have been the occasion of bitter factional disputes over fundamental views on "the family" and the extent to which public agencies can be expected to support unconventional living arrangements.

Much of the talk in conferences, panel discussions and reports in the media betrays a belief that in the "good old days" families were wonderful, warm, comfortable and benign -- always there to provide the young with a harmonious and affectionate environment in which to grow. It is of some interest to note that the nostalgia in such discussions occurs at a time when the literature on the history of childhood and of family life has been growing very rapidly. The chances are that in the 1970s, more has been written on the history of women, children and families than in all the centuries before then.

In general, the historical accounts of families and childhoods now available suggest that the "good old days" were awful -- especially for children (Wishy, 1972; Stone, 1975; Stone, 1977; Langer, 1974). In the not-so-distant past, at least in the western world, adults were enjoined to save children from certain damnation, to break their wills, and to engage in other forms of what we would now call child abuse, mostly of a psychological type (see Wishy, 1972). The history of childhood suggests a record of almost uninterrupted hunger, disease, psychological and physical abuse and other miseries for the majority of children. On the average, the quality of life for children is most likely much better by absolute standards, than it has ever been before.

In the United States, we sometimes forget that it was not until 1938 that the Fair Labor Standards Act, which protected children from unfair labor practices, was passed. It has been widely acknowledged that even then, the Act was passed because children were occupying jobs badly needed by unemployed adults during the 1930s.

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* Presented October 15, 1979. An earlier version of this is in Current Topics in Early Childhood Education, Vol. III, Ablex Publishing Corp., Norwood, N.J.

We often attribute our family and child rearing problems to change. Change has always been with us, and ideally it always will be. Perhaps the rate at which patterns change has accelerated so greatly that changes occur within generations rather than simply between them. Perhaps another source of upheaval is that changes affecting families and educators are not synchronized -- some parts of our lives change faster than other parts. One of the most vivid examples of poor synchronization of changes is that of increasing numbers of young mothers entering the labor force without corresponding increases in the provision of sufficient extra-home child care facilities.

The widespread feelings of frustration reported by parents and educators of young children cannot be alleviated by romanticizing the past, which, it turns out, was nothing to shout about for most of our ancestors. Since we constantly change the standards by which we define the "good life," some sense of failure, of falling below our ideals, is always likely to stalk us.

A contemporary view of family life indicates that although most children still live in families rather than institutions, the specific arrangements are changing. Families are smaller and more of them are headed by single parents. It may be helpful to keep in mind that the particular family arrangement a child grows up with is not as important to the child's psychosocial development as are the meanings he or she gives to that arrangement. Thus, for example, if one grows up without a father, to a large extent the significance of such paternal deprivation will vary depending upon the meaning given to that deprivation. If the father is absent because he has gone off to war to save the country and preserve our freedom, the meaning of the absence will take a particular form. If nearly all the fathers of most peers have also gone off to war, father's absence may be a shared, ennobling hardship. Indeed, in such times father-presence might be insufferable to youngsters at certain ages. If, on the other hand, father deprivation is due to his having deserted the family, it may have a different meaning. If father is in prison for a heinous crime, then again father's absence will very likely take on another meaning. The point is that deprivation itself cannot determine the outcome of a child's development, but the meaning the young child gives to that deprivation may have significant effects on the child's personality development. One of the major responsibilities of caregivers is to help children to give appropriate meaning to their experiences.

We seem to be at a point in social history when parents have great responsibility (although not enough authority) for helping their children to develop personalities capable of early self-sufficiency and autonomy (LeVine, 1980), and to acquire complex motivational patterns that will enable them to make long-term occupational and career commitments, and to make choices from among a variety of possible life-styles.

Because the family is potentially the source of the greatest good, it is also, in equal proportion, potentially the source of the greatest damage. Ideally the family is the major provider of support, warmth, comfort and protection. But when the family falls short in these provisions, suffering can be acute and disturbances in development may

result. It is unlikely that parents were more devoted to their children in bygone days than they are today. The task of parenting has become more complex, and the impact of parental failure more serious. In every social class there are many children whose psychological lives are destroyed by their families. Some of those children are saved by one or two teachers who give recognition and encouragement missing from other sources.

In fact, there is increasing pressure on teachers in day care centers, preschools, and primary classes to respond to the apparent needs of children assumed to be unmet by their busy, working and, in many cases, single mothers. At the same time there is growing enthusiasm for parent training and parent involvement in schooling. Among the outcomes of research on young children is the welcome acknowledgement that parents' behavior plays a central role in the intellectual development of their children. The influence of parents on their children's personalities has long been recognized, if not exaggerated. But recent research findings, exemplified by the well-known work of White et al. (1979), Levenstein (1970), Schaefer (1979), and others, are reflected in such catch phrases as "parents are the child's first teacher" or even "best teacher." New optimism about the potential educational role of parents has given rise to numerous programs designed to help parents become more effective teachers of their young children. The objectives of many of these programs go beyond strengthening the so-called "parenting" skills to include training in tutorial and instructional skills as well.

In summary, pressures seem to mount on mothers[2] to instruct their children in ways that will render them more responsive to schooling, perhaps in part due to a lack of confidence in teachers and schools. On the other hand, it is not unusual to hear teachers of young children complain that they must supply the nurturance and affection children seem to need before instruction can be effective. While mothers often believe that their children might better attain academic success if teachers were more competent, teachers often believe that their own efforts would be more successful if only mothers attended properly to their own children's psychosocial needs. So long as such recriminatory attitudes persist, parent-teacher relationships are unlikely to be characterized as opportunities for mutual support.

Dimensions of Distinction

It is obvious that teachers do many of the same things with children that mothers do, and vice versa. It is in the nature of young children that from time to time they require of their teachers at school some of the same tending, caring, and guiding given them by their mothers at home. Similarly, mothers are helping their children to acquire knowledge and skills the teachers consider important. Although the behavior of the two role-takers is likely to overlap on each of the seven dimensions discussed below, their central tendencies can be expected to yield the distinctions indicated in Figure 1 (see page 11). In the service of exploration role distinctions between the two are somewhat exaggerated; no role-takers occur in the pure types described in this essay. Furthermore, it should be understood that although the

FIGURE 1: Distinctions Between Mothering and Teaching in Their Central Tendencies on Seven Dimensions

	ROLE DIMENSION	MOTHERING	TEACHING
1.	Scope of Functions	Diffuse & Limitless	Specific & Limited
2.	Intensity of Affect	High	Low
3.	Attachment	Optimum Attachment	Optimum Detachment
4.	Rationality	Optimum Irrationality	Optimum Rationality
5.	Spontaneity	Optimum Spontaneity	Optimum Intentionality
6.	Partiality	Partial	Impartial
7.	Scope of Responsibility	Individual	Whole Group

dimensions on which the two role-takers are distinguished interact with each other, they are enumerated separately in order to highlight potential problems arising from confusion between the two roles.

Scope of Functions: In a discussion of some of the discontinuities between families and schools, Getzels (1974) points out that the two institutions are discontinuous in at least two ways: the scope and the affectivity characterizing relationships in the two settings.

Under the rubric of scope, Getzels points out that the functions to be fulfilled by the family are diffuse and limitless, in contradistinction to those of the school, which are specific and limited. The all-encompassing scope of the responsibilities, duties and potential content of the relationships within families is "taken for granted." There is, according to Getzels, nothing about the young child that is not the parent's business. Thus it is unnecessary to prove that any aspect of the child's life is within the purview of the family.

However, in the case of the school, relationships between teachers and children are specific in scope, function and content in that the legitimate area of interaction "is limited to a particular technically-defined sphere, and what is not conceded to the school because of its special competence remains the private affair of the participants" (Getzels, 1974, p. 48).

Similarly, the Newsons (Newson and Newson, 1976) point out that the responsibility society "enjoins on parents to their young children is quite different from that which it expects from teachers, nurses and other professionals...for one thing it has no fixed hours... parents of preschool children never go off duty..." (p. 400).

Hess (1980) also points out that the "relationship between child and parent is different in several ways from the relationship between child and caregiver. The mother-child relationship calls for and justifies more direct, intimate interaction, including anger and discipline as well as love and support" (p. 149).

The distinctions in scope of functions proposed by Getzels, by the Newsons and by Hess appear to become greater and sharper with inceasing age of the pupil. To teachers of preschool and primary school, the distinctions are problematic precisely because of the age of the child: the younger the child, the wider the range of functioning for which adults must assume responsibility. Thus age and the level of maturity associated with it, in and of itself, gives rise to confusion between the two roles. To expect day care, preschool and primary school teachers to accept as wide a scope of functions as mothers do serves to exacerbate the long-standing problems of unclear role boundaries.

Intensity of Affect: It seems reasonable to assume that both the intensity of affect (of all kinds) and the frequency with which behavior is marked by intense affect would also distinguish the two sets of role-takers. That is to say that on the average, when the central tendencies of mothers are compared to those of teachers, we should find

more frequent and greater affective intensity in the behavior of mothers than of teachers. As Rubenstein and Howes have pointed out, the role of day care teachers is "both more specified and limited than the role of mother at home ...the mother's emotional investment may enhance the likelihood of high-intensity affective responses" (Rubenstein and Howes, 1979, p. 3). The Newsons address this dimension by calling it "involvement" and point out that "parents' deep involvement with their own children is precisely the quality which makes parents different from other more 'professional' caretakers" (Newson and Newson, 1976, p. 371). They point out that:

> ...A good parent-child relationship is in fact very unlike a good teacher-child relationship; yet because the roles have certain ingredients in common, though different proportions (nurturance, discipline, information-giving, for example), they are sometimes confused by the participants themselves, to the misunderstanding of all concerned... (p. 401-402, italics theirs).

Pressure on parents to take on more instructional-type functions can lead to a variety of difficulties, one of which is exemplified in the case of a mother of a child with so-called learning disabilities. The mother reported that she and her child were enrolled in a special "home intervention" program designed to teach mothers to give their "learning disabled" children regular rigorous instruction and skill training at home. Although unintended by the program leaders, one effect was that the mother became so anxious about being able to get her son to meet the specified learning objectives set for them both that their relationship deteriorated. With each lesson in which he fell behind, she became disappointed and tense, and the child became nervous and recalcitrant, which, in turn, increased her own disappointment and tension, and so forth until, as she reported, she realized "the boy had no mother." She withdrew from the lessons, and asked the professionals to continue to teach him while she supported his struggle to learn by being the relatively soft, understanding and non-demanding adult in his life. In some ways her story reminds us of common problems encountered when trying to teach a close friend or relative to drive a car. We become aware of how much easier it is to be patient and understanding of a stranger than of someone close to us. Very often the stress encountered in trying to teach someone very close to us places heavy burdens on the relationship.

In sum, one would expect the average level of affective intensity of the two role-takers to be distinguished from each other as indicated in Figure 1. The affectivity dimension is closely related to the attachment dimension discussed below.

Attachment: Although the term attachment is widely used in professional as well as popular literature on child development and child-rearing, it is a difficult one to define. In the literature on infant development attachment refers to an underlying variable inferred from infants' reactions to strangers and to separations and reunions with primary caretakers (Cohen, 1974). Rutter (1979) indicates that attachment is a construct involving several features, and should be distin-

guished from bonding to the adults. The available definitions focus almost exclusively on the attachment of the child to the adults. What is required for this discussion is a way of defining the attachment of the adults to their children. Ramey and Farran offer a broad definition of adult-child attachment using the term functional maternal attachment to mean "simply those caregiving functions that must be performed for infants to sustain a normal development" (Ramey and Farran, 1978, p. 2). The set of functions includes "at a minimum a refrain from physical and verbal abuse, the provision of information and affection, and direct personal involvement with the infant."

Research on the reciprocity and rhythmicity which characterize normal mother-infant relationships brings us closer to a way of defining attachment so that the adult's attachment to the child is included. For the purposes of this essay the term attachment is defined as the capacity to be aroused to a wide range of behaviors and intense feelings by the status and behavior of the child. If the attachment is a mutual one, then one would expect the behavior and feelings of either member of the pair to activate strong feelings and/or reactions in the other. This definition is intended to include such feelings as anxiety, alarm, fear, anger, and rage, as well as the proverbial pride and joy and other tender loving and caring emotions. Common usage of the term attachment tends to refer primarily to the nurturant side of the spectrum of feelings and behaviors of adults, and to overlook the point that intense rage or terror in the face of impending danger to the child are also manifestations of what we call attachement. The definition proposed here implies that the opposite of attachment is not rejection or anger, but indifference.

In Figure 1, the entry "optimum attachment" is intended to reflect the notion that whereas development could be jeopardized by mother-child attachment that is too weak (minimal), it could also be undermined by excessive attachment, commonly called "smother love."[3]

The optimum attachment recommended here as an ideal feature of mother-child relationships is distinguished from the optimum detachment which should and mark teacher-child relationships. The latter is often referred to as "detached concern" (Maslach and Pines, 1977). The term detachment is used not only in order to characterize the distinctions in the functions of the two role-takers, but to suggest also that it is appropriate for professionals to make self-conscious or deliberate efforts to distance themselves (optimally) from their clients. As Maslach and Pines (1977) have suggested, people who work intensively and intimately with people for extended periods of time inevitably suffer stresses associated with strong emotional arousal. As they point out, one of the ways of coping with such potential stress is to adopt techniques of detachment, which vary in their effectiveness as well as in their relationship to the conduct of work: "By treating one's clients or patients in a more objective detached way, it becomes easier to perform the necessary interviews, tests, or operations without suffering from strong psychological discomfort" (p. 100). The authors go on to suggest that "detached concern" is a term which conveys "the difficult (and almost paradoxical) position of having to distance oneself from people in order to cure them" (p. 100).

Teachers who are unable to detach themselves optimally from their pupils and thus become too close to them are likely to suffer emotional "burn-out" which is typically accompanied by loss of capacity to feel anything at all for the clients. Certainly those who are extremely detached at the other extreme, for whatever reason, are unlikely to be effective in their work with children because such extreme detachment is also accompanied by low responsiveness to client needs and demands.

One of the advantages mothers have over teachers in dealing with the stresses of attachment, as well as intense affect, is their tacit knowledge that their child's psychological and physical dependency upon them will slowly but surely be outgrown. Teachers of day care, pre-school and kindergarten children, on the other hand, must cope with dependent children, year in and year out. They must protect themselves from potential "burn-out" by developing an optimal level of detached concern -- optimal in terms of their own emotional stability and effective functioning.

It should be noted also that teachers who are suspected of cultivating close attachments to their pupils in order to "meet their own personal needs," as the saying goes, are subject to substantial derision from co-workers and other professionals. Occasionally such teachers come to perceive themselves as protecting children from their own parents, and occasionally the child's responsiveness to such teacher closeness gives rise to parental jealousy. As Anna Freud pointed out long ago, a teacher "is neither mother nor therapist." A teacher with "objective attitudes can respond warmly enough to satisfy children without getting herself involved to a dangerous extent..." (Freud, 1952, p. 232). She adds that a teacher must not think of herself as a "mother-substitute." If, as teachers, "we play the part of a mother, we get from the child the reactions which are appropriate for the mother-child relationship" (p. 231). All of this could result in "rivalry with mothers" and other undesirable consequences, making teacher-mother mutual support and complementarity difficult to develop.

Optimum detachment is also desirable for teachers because it can free teachers to make realistic evaluations of their pupils' development and learning, which is a major component of their work. Mothers, on the other hand, may not have to make realistic or so-called "objective" evaluations of their children's growth very often, although their lack of realism is a frequent source of frustration to teachers! In the long run, a mother's optimism about her child's progress, even if it seems excessive, is probably in the child's best interest. Such optimism in and of itself may contribute to the child's growth and development. Maternal pessimism, on the other hand, may be more damaging than any teacher's realism. Many children seem to think that mother, being omniscient and knowing the child more fully and completely than the teacher, is in possession of the "real" truth, and that when there is a discrepancy between the mother's and the teacher's evaluation, the former is more accurate. Experience suggests that individuals caught between their mother's pessimism concerning their potential for achievement, and a teacher's optimism, devote considerable energy to the problem of how to keep "the real truth" from the teacher -- having no

choice but to accept mother's view as the "true" one. Such discrepancies may account for some cases of lifelong doubts about one's true abilities.

Differences in the assessments of the two role-takers may be related to the differences in the base-lines to which the child in question is being compared. They may also be due to dramatic differences in the child's behavior in the home and at school. It is not uncommon to hear both mothers and teachers comment on how strikingly different the child seems in the "other" setting. Frequently, a mother will report that the teacher's description of her child was difficult to reconcile with her own experiences with the child. Studies of this phenomenon and the ways children cope with discrepant evaluations have not been found.

Another consideration leading to the recommendation of optimum detachment for teachers is the importance of minimizing the likelihood of incidents we might call "invasions of privacy" or other forms of encroachment upon aspects of children's socialization which are the legitimate domain of the family. Similarly, optimum detachment is recommended in order to help teachers with the ever-present temptation to engage in favoritism. Since it is unlikely that one can be strongly attached to more than one or two pupils, the risk of favoritism increases with increasing closeness to any one pupil. The optimum detachment approach should help to reduce those dangers.

Many early childhood workers reject the value of optimum detachment because of their deep concern for children's need to feel closeness and attachment to adults. It is not clear how the proposed detachment would affect such "needy" children. But it is useful to keep in mind that whereas the relationships between adults and children in day care, preschool, and primary classes are reciprocal, they are not necessarily symmetrical. In particular, it may be possible for young children to feel very attached to their teachers, even to worship and adore them, without the teachers' responding at the same level of intensity. Such "unrequited love" during the early years may help the child to gratify needs for cathexis without placing severe emotional burdens on teachers. Research on such asymmetrical attachment might help to clarify the potential effects on such children of the detachment of their teachers.

Rationality: It is hypothesized here that effective mothering is associated, at least in part, with optimum irrationality, and that either extreme rationality or extreme irrationality may be damaging to the growing child. On the one hand, extreme rationality in a mother might be perceived by the child as cool, calculating unresponsiveness that could lead to a variety of emotional disturbances. Extreme irrationality, on the other hand, may present the growing child with a range of problems stemming from insufficient predictability of the interpersonal environment.

By using the term "optimum irrationality" I do not intend to propose chaotic, scatterbrained mindlessness! Rather, the emphasis is upon adequate depth and strength of what we sometimes call "ego-involvement" -- similar in nature to attachment as defined above.

The irrationality suggested here is, in a sense, a matter of the mind, or the rational aspects of functioning, employed "in the service of the heart," so to speak. On the other hand much literature is prepared for and presented to teachers to remind them to bring their hearts to bear upon their professional minds.

The element of "ego-involvment" may also be illustrated by the notion that if a mother perceives herself as a failure at mothering she is likely to experience painful guilt, strong feelings of inadequacy and deep regret, perhaps for a lifetime. If on the other hand a teacher perceives herself to have failed at teaching she or he can leave the occupation in a fairly orderly fashion (for example, at the end of an academic year), and residual emotions like guilt, feelings of failure, regret and defeat are likely to subside and disappear within a few months.

A different aspect of this dimension is captured in the expression, "No one in her right mind would be a mother!" As Bronfenbrenner has put it, "in order to develop, a child needs the enduring, irrational involvement of one or more adults," by which he means, "Somebody has to be crazy about that kid!" (Bronfenbrenner, 1978, pp. 773-774). For modern, well educated mothers, however, this may appear to be something of an overstatement.

A rational analysis of the pros and cons of motherhood would be unlikely to lead to a decision to undertake it. Indeed, it is difficult to find "reasons" for having children today. Offspring are not "useful" as a hedge against economic dependency in old age. Rather than being considered potential members of the family labor force and contributors to the family income, they are expected to become substantial drains on the family finances. Indeed, it is suggested by Stone (1975) that as the economic value of children has decreased, the importance of affectional bonds has increased. Thus, even more than their forebears, modern parents have children just because they "have to" -- irrationally, so to speak.

Teachers on the other hand should be optimally rational, in that they should bring to bear upon their work careful reasoning concerning what is to be done or not done. Teaching calls for rational analysis of how to proceed in the education of young children on the basis of accumulated knowledge of how children develop and learn, and of what is appropriate pedagogy for children of a given age range and experiential background. Presumably the value of teacher training is precisely that it equips the future teacher with information and knowledge from the relevant "supply" disciplines and from pedagogy, all of which become available for proceeding rationally in the work of teaching. It seems reasonable to assume that teachers' possession of relevant knowledge would serve to increase their confidence in their own behavior and in their general role competence. However, increased knowledge for mothers may have the opposite effect, and may serve to undermine what is often rather fragile confidence when facing "experts" who may appear comparatively cool and confident in their own advice and procedures.

Spontaneity: Along very similar lines, parents should strive to be optimally spontaneous in dealing with their children. Many programs of parent education run the risk of encouraging parents to become excessively cerebral and self-conscious in responding to their children. Extreme pressure to modify their behavior may lead parents to a condition called "analysis paralysis," or inability to act with adequate confidence, which could be damaging to the mother-child relationship. The resolve to respond to one's child according to certain steps and procedures arrived at cerebrally (intellectually, as it were) may work well on the first or even second occasion. But very often, even the strongest resolutions break down under the weight of what is (and should be) an emotionally-loaded relationship. Such "breakdowns" are related to the fact that the child's behavior/status really matters to the parent, which comes with "attachment" as defined above. The cool, calculating, ever reasoning or reasonable parent might be perceived by the child as indifferent and uncaring.

Another aspect of spontaneity is that it is precisely spontaneity that gives a mother's day-to-day behavior at home the variation and contrast which growing children can use as a basis for hypothesis formulation and testing in their quest to make sense of experience. Indeed, it may well be that what gives play its reputed high value in children's learning derives from the spontaneous, casual and often random variations produced in many types of play (Newson and Newson, 1979). These variations provide information which the child operates on and transforms into meaningful contents of the mind -- for example concepts, schemata, and so on. The opportunity to observe such spontaneous variations, and to obtain parental help in making logical inferences from them, may be the very thing the slogans such as "mother is the best teacher" refer to.

By contrast, instruction can be defined as non-random, prespecified sets of stimuli or information intended to cause specific constructs and skills to be acquired. This contrast between play and instruction may also help to account for some of the dissension concerning appropriate programming for infant day care. On the one hand there is pressure to rise above the custodial functions of day care and to provide "developmental" programs. On the other hand, formal lessons, instruction or "structured" activities are thought to be inappropriate for the young. If the staff must await spontaneous "teachable moments," they may feel as though they are not earning their keep, not really "working," and role ambiguity may intensify.

Whereas mothers should be optimally spontaneous with their children, teachers should strive to be optimally intentional about their work. Their activities should be largely predetermined, premeditated in terms of some aims, goals, and broad objectives which are more or less explicit and are responsive to parents (the primary clients) as well as to pupils. With training and experience teachers' intentional behavior takes on a spontaneous quality as well.

Spontaneity of the mother is important also in that it may contribute to the widest possible variations in behavior, which in turn give rise to the widest possible range of information becoming potentially

available to the child. The availability of a wide range of information increases the probability that children will be able to locate information that matches adequately or optimally what they are ready to operate upon and/or to assimilate. Furthermore, if the child's location of appropriate information is followed by mother's focusing on the selected events or information, then the child's environment becomes a highly informative and responsive one. In studies of mother-infant interaction it has been suggested that adults exaggerate their facial and vocal expressions in order to provide "behavioral contrasts" in response to infants' "limited information processing capacities" (Tronick, et al., 1980, p. 20). Thus the spontaneous variations in behavior ideally serve to increase the likelihood that matches between the child's readiness to process information and the adult's provision of information will be maximized. This assertion is supported indirectly by the findings of Hatano et al. (1980). In a study of children's acquisition of number the investigator, after having observed mother-child interaction two years earlier, showed that "the mother's directiveness was correlated negatively with the child's number conservation score" (p. 383).

As suggested above, instruction and pedagogy are concerned with narrowing the variations presented to the child so that specific information and child operations upon it can be maximized. However, if the narrow range of information presented by the pedagogue misses the mark for a particular child the child's alternatives are fewer than they might be at home, and the result may be a sense of failure or inadequacy, which in turn, may have deleterious effects upon the child's receptivity to education. Questions concerning what sets of variations, stimuli or information should be made available to young children in preschool classes have occupied curriculum developers for many years and definitive answers have not yet been formulated.

Perhaps it is this very degree of intentionality which most clearly distinguishes mothering from teaching, and child-rearing from education. That is not to say that parents have no intentions! It is likely, however, that parental intentions are less specific and explicit to parents themselves, as well as to others, than teachers, and are less formal, more global and more personalized in that they are held for their own individual offspring rather than for a group. Research on the degree and specificity of intentions among the two sets of role-takers might help to sharpen understanding of these role distinctions.

Early childhood educators often speak appreciatively of the great amounts children learn from the hidden curriculum, from incidental learning or from unintended or unplanned events. However, by definition, such unintended learning cannot be intended...one cannot intend something to happen unintentionally! Presumably the purpose of training in pedagogy is to bring the consequences of one's pedagogical methods into closer and closer agreement with the intentions underlying one's pedagogy. Similarly, the virtue of instruction would seem to lie in the deliberate minimization of spontaneous or random variations in activities and responses, maximizing the likelihood that specific stimuli will be presented to the learner and intended or predicted learning outcomes will most likely be assured.

Partiality: Along lines very similar to those already discussed above, mother-child relationships are not only charged with highly intense emotions, but "children in the family are treated as special persons...," and in school they are "necessarily treated as members of categories" (Lightfoot, 1978, p. 22). It is thus in the nature of things that parents are partial towards their own children, biased in their favor, champions of their children's needs and exaggerators of their virtures, gifts and assets. This so-called particularism stands in sharp contrast to the universalism expected of teachers. Thus it is appropriate for parents to ask teachers to make special allowances and provisions for their own children, and that is precisely what a teacher often cannot do, since the teacher must treat the children impartially. Teacher impartiality means that the teacher makes equally available to every child as needed (whether the child is liked or not) whatever skills, knowledge, insights, or techniques the teacher has at his or her disposal. Indeed, it is the very capacity to make all of one's pedagogical know-how available to a child one does not especially like which marks the teacher as a genuine professional.

Scope of Responsibility: The great emphasis placed by early childhood educators on the importance of meeting "individual needs" of their pupils may have obscured yet another distinction between the roles of mothering and teaching, namely, that mothers are typically concerned about the welfare of one rather than all of the teacher's pupils. Consequently, a mother may make demands on the teacher which might place the welfare of the whole group of pupils at risk. Parents have a right to protect their own child's cultural/ethnic uniqueness, and to ask of the teacher that special consideration, as appropriate, be made for their child. The teacher is responsible not only for every individual in the group, but for the life of the group as a unit. The teacher has to balance the importance of responding to unique individual "needs" against the responsibility to establish and maintain the ethos of the group through which the norms of behavior, expected levels of achievement, and even many feelings are learned.

Summary of Dimensions: The seven dimensions outlined above probably reflect some kind of common underlying variable which is difficult to name. As Lightfoot put it:

> The universalistic relationships encouraged by teachers is supportive of a more rational, predictable, and stable social system with visible and explicit criteria for achievement and failure. It does not suffer the chaotic fluctuation of emotions, indulgence, and impulsiveness that are found in the intimate association of parents and children.... Even the teachers who speak of "loving" their children do not really mean the boundless, all-encompassing love of mothers and fathers but rather a very measured and time-limited love that allows for withdrawal (Lightfoot, 1978, p. 23).

The Newsons, in a study of 700 elementary school children and their relationships to their families and schools, also underscore this point:

> Parents have an involvement with their own children which nobody else can simulate...The crucial characteristic of the parental role is its partiality for the individual child.... The best that community care can offer is impartiality -- to be fair to every child in its care. But a developing personality needs more than that: it needs to know that to someone it matters more than to other children: that someone will go to unreasonable lengths, not just reasonable ones, for its sake (Newson and Newson, 1976, p. 406, italics theirs).

Our understanding of the potential problems arising from confusing the two roles might be helped by studies of those women who are simultaneous occupants of both roles. Casual observation and experience suggest that teachers who are also mothers of young children may have elevated expectations of their own children as well as of themselves. It has been reported that such mothers are sometimes ashamed and embarrassed by their emotionality with their own children, expecting themselves to be as level-headed at home as they are in the classroom. Similarly, some expect their own children to exemplify perfection to enhance their credibility as teachers.

To the extent that such role fusion does occur and produces these kinds of expectations, clarification of the distinction between the two roles suggested in this paper may help to alleviate some of the strains for those who occupy both at the same time. In addition, some research on the ways such dual role-takers define the two roles and what sources of role fusion, confusion and strain they identify would be helpful.

Implications for Parent Education

One of the major functions of parent education programs should be to help parents think through their own goals for their own children, to develop and clarify what kind of lifestyle they want to construct with the family, and to identify what they themselves perceive to be the major issues deserving attention. The program should offer parents insights and various kinds of information while encouraging them to accept only what makes sense to them and what is consistent with their own preferences.

Parent education programs should also encourage and support parents' confidence in their own impulses and in their own competence. It is hypothesized that, in the long run, efforts to support impulses already in place and available to the mother (for example) will result in greater change and improvement in parental functioning than efforts to change or replace those impulses directly. This hypothesis rests on the assumption that parental confidence, in and of itself, leads to greater effectiveness (particularly in matters relating to the assertion of authority in parent-child interaction) and that greater effectiveness, in and of itself, leads to greater confidence. This "looping" or "circularity" in which the effects of behavior become in turn the causes of effects would seem to be especially powerful in relationships marked by high intensity of affect, that is, in which effects really matter to the

actors. The hypothesis is also related to the assumption that greater parental confidence is more likely to promote greater advice seeking and greater openness to new information than is parental embarrassment, shame or low self-confidence.

As indicated earlier in this discussion, parent education that is excessively technique-based or technique-oriented may yield positive effects in the short run and greater feelings of failure and/or guilt in the long run. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that parenting is not primarily technical but is more dispositional and ideally largely unselfconscious. A related point here is that children respond not so much to the specific behavior of the parents as to the meanings they assign to that behavior. But the meanings they attribute to any given episode are a function of the larger pattern of which they perceive that episode to be a part. Children may have difficulty giving the meanings their mothers hope they will to technique-bound episodes. Thus, for example, parental reliance on specific techniques, phrases or other maneuvers may confound the problems issuing from faulty patterns of behavior or from characteristic parental dispositions. The latter take time to change and to reshape, and may perhaps be more effectively modified in parents who have more, rather than less, confidence (see also Hess, 1980).

Parent educators often report that the spontaneous impulses of some of the parents they work with put the children in jeopardy, usually in relation to the psychosocial rather than their academic development. To what extent such judgments are matters of taste, preference and/or value differences between parent educators and their clients is not yet clear. In fact, it may be in the nature of things that parent educators have to work in the absence of sufficient certainty concerning the potential benefit or damage of a given maternal pattern. One way to cope with such uncertainty is to scrutinize as carefully as possible each case of potential jeopardy with regard to the certainty of risk or danger to the child. When -- in the educator's best judgment at a given time -- the potential for danger seems reasonably clear, then referral to specialized agencies should be made. However, when examination of the available information raises doubts about the potential danger to the child, then the next appropriate step seems to be to encourage and support the mother's own pattern of responding to the child. Differences in taste, philosophical positions and/or values probably underlie many of the judgments that educators make concerning the mother's need to change her behavior. However, it may be useful to remember that parent educators as well as teachers of young children are bound to take firm stands on their beliefs and philosophical positions, since the latter serve to give teachers the kind of certainty required for action in the kinds of complex situations in which reliable data cannot serve as a basis for decision making (see Katz, 1977).

Powell (1980) suggests that when parents are given new information, or are pressed into changing their patterns of behavior in ways that are discrepant with their own values, they minimize the discrepant stimuli and reduce their influence. Powell's analyses of the various parental strategies for coping with the pressures placed upon them to change serve to remind us that education in parenting is not an easy

matter. It may be that trying to get mothers to instruct their children in pre-academic tasks is easier than helping them with deeper and more complex aspects of development (for example, self-reliance, moral development, social skills, motivation, and so on).

Implications for Teachers of Young Children

The analyses presented above seem to suggest a number of points which may help teachers in their encounters with mothers as well as in coping with the day-to-day problems of working with young children.

It seems obvious, even without detailed analyses of the two roles, that the special contributions of each role taker to the ultimate socialization of the young child should be understood, accepted and respected by each of them. Parent educators as well as those who write in the popular press for parents might help by acknowledging the complementarity of these functions, rather than engaging in trying to fix blame on one or the other for whatever social disaster is capturing popular attention at a given moment. Expressions like "Parents are the child's best teacher" seem to suggest that teachers are, if not the worst, then certainly a distant second best. The comparison itself is inappropriate. What should be emphasized are the functions and characteristics of each role and how the efforts of each role taker might be supported by the other.

Another implication of the analyses attempted in this essay is that teachers should take time periodically to consider whether they have achieved an optimal level of involvement or detachment in their relationships with children. The risk of teacher "burn-out" is a real one, especially when the work is with children whose families are under stress. Teachers who work together as members of a teaching team might also help each other by developing a system for giving each other relief during those moments when the emotional load feels too heavy to cope with.

Teachers may also be helped by focusing on those aspects of the child's functioning which they actually do control. A teacher cannot change the family into which a child is born or with whom he or she is living. Nor can the teacher generally change very much of the mother's behavior. But a teacher can take responsibility for the time a child is actually directly in his or her care, and focus on making that time as supportive, enriching and educative as possible. The latter is a sufficiently big task by itself, without adding to it the need to make up for the child's alleged missing mothering!

Teachers may also find it helpful in their relations with mothers to acknowledge and accept the mother's advocacy for and partiality toward her own child as normal components of motherhood. Similarly, as mothers approach teachers to request special dispensations for their own children, teachers' acknowledgement of the "naturalness" of such demands may help them to respond more patiently and less defensively than they seem typically to do. Teachers might be mindful on such occasions that although they may practice impartiality within their own classroom, they champion their own classes when representing them as a

group in comparison with other teachers' classes! On such occasions teachers also ask for special dispensations and also describe their own classes as having special or unique needs, gifts and strengths -- much the way mothers do for their individual children. Recognition of this phenomenon may help teachers respond to parents with greater respect and understanding, and to see the adversarial aspects of their relationship as inherent in their roles rather than as personality conflicts.

Conclusion

Much of the discussion presented above is speculative, based on informal observations and reports of the experiences of teachers, parents and parent educators. Research that would ascertain the validity of these speculations would be helpful. Of all of the potential research efforts on matters referred to in this essay, those should have high priority which would advance our understanding of the stresses and coping skills of teachers and day care workers. Present social and economic developments suggest that more and more children and their parents will come to depend upon professional child care workers and preschool teachers, and more parents will stand to benefit from well-designed parent education programs. Much is yet to be learned about how such professional activities should be conducted, and what kinds of working conditions are desirable. Certainly mutual support of the persons involved should help each to cope more effectively with the stresses encountered when living and working with young children every day.

Footnotes

1. A review of history indicates persuasively (see Langer, 1974 and Stone, 1977) that though child abuse may be a modern term, it is not a modern phenomenon. It may be that the standards by which we define child abuse are constantly revised upwards so that today's norm is tomorrow's abuse. Perhaps that is in the nature of the development and history of civilization.

2. The teacher-parent distinction discussed here may apply to fathers as well as to mothers. There appears to be no biological or other a priori reason why the behaviors attributed to mothers in this essay could not also be ascribed to fathers. Current research indicates that fathers do have a powerful impact upon their young children's development; however, though equally important, the father's influence is different from the mother's (see Zigler and Cascione, this volume).

3. What constitutes an optimum degree of attachment for any given mother-child pair would be difficult to predict or pre-specify since we only know whether the attachment is optimum if the child is observed to be thriving; however, failure to thrive may not always be attributable to disturbances in attachment.

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Black Beginnings: A Longitudinal, Videotaped Observational Study of the Rearing and Development of Infants in Black Families*

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Over the last year and a half we have been collecting detailed observational and interview data on how black families in Oakland, California rear their young children. The overarching purpose of the project, called the Toddler and Infant Experiences Study (TIES), is to examine the socio-emotional, intellectual, creative, language and physical development of black toddlers and the corresponding childrearing practices, attitudes, beliefs and values of working-class and middle-class black parents. These parents, because they are black, are outside the mainstream of American society. They must and do respond to the differences their being black makes to their economic, social and political lives. Black parents must and do socialize their children in ways that allow them to accommodate to their marginal and often ambiguous status. The main objective of this research, then, is to document, identify, and examine in depth the intricacies and uniqueness of black family life, child socialization, and child development. Fundamental to our thinking are the following:

1) Black families raise children to become healthy, competent, self-sufficient and productive adults;

2) Black families historically and contemporaneously have developed patterns of childrearing that are appropriate for black children in a black-white society;

3) Yet, little is known about the dynamics of parent-child interaction or of child socialization patterns in typical, representative black families. (Most research has focused only on multi-problem black families and there is virtually no research on the rearing of black infants and toddlers.)

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4) Well-functioning black families and mothers can provide specific, unique and highly appropriate models for other black families and mothers and can lead the way for other families and women who are attempting to redefine and change traditional roles and relationships.

The TIES project is one of the few broad-gauged, longitudinal investigations of the everyday experiences and development of toddlers. It is particularly significant, because it is the only such study of black children and because it incorporates a number of inventive methodological innovations. These innovations include special procedures for videotaping toddlers under naturalistic conditions in ordinary home environments, a longitudinal video data bank, a behavior scoring system designed for both eyewitness and videocoding, caregiver interviews thematically linked to the video data, video records of the physical environment, and videotaping of widely used tests for toddlers. Because the research is still underway, this report will focus primarily on methodology. Part I will describe the background, objectives, sample, and procedure while Part II will highlight the methodological innovations.

Background And Procedure Of The Study

Antecedents and Sources: As background for this study, the existing social science literature on black families and child socialization was critically reviewed. The emphasis in the literature search was on identifying patterns in black parents' childrearing philosophies and desired or preferred behaviors for children. From the works of black historians, writers and poets, as well as from the works of social scientists (for example, Belle, Bossard, Gay, Hill, Hilliard, Lewis, McAdoo, Nobles, Newburger, Ogbu, Peters, Pierce, Stack, Staples and Young), we sought examples of behaviors, attitudes and values shared by blacks in America, whether these were derived from African heritage or our historical situation in the United States, or developed as adaptations to the immediate and pressing demands of surviving as blacks in contemporary American society. These shared values and the corresponding qualities and behaviors towards which black children may be socialized are listed in Tables 1 and 2.

In its basic design, conceptualization and naturalistic observation methodology, the child development and childrearing component of TIES builds largely on previous work by Carew (White, Carew, Watts, Barnett, Kaban, Marmor and Shapiro, 1973; Carew, Chan, and Halfar, 1976; Carew, 1980) and by others who have used the TIES scoring system or variants of it (for example, in the National Family Day Home Study, reported by Fosburg et al., 1980; and in the Child and Family Resource Program Evaluation, reported by Nauta, 1980). The adult interview component of this research draws most heavily on the work of Belle (the Families and Stress Project, 1979), Carew and Lightfoot (1979), Peters and Massey (1980), McAdoo (1979), and Pierce (1975, 1978).

Objectives: The specific objectives of TIES are:

1) To document and trace longitudinally from age one to three, the daily experiences (behaviors, interactions, activities) of black children, including both the experiences that children generate for themselves in their independent pursuits and those in which their caregivers and others in their families play some part;

2) To document and trace longitudinally the course of development of major socio-emotional, intellectual, language, creative, self-care and physical competencies among black children.

3) To examine the connections between children's daily experiences (both self-generated and environmentally-produced) and their development of the competencies referred to, using three types of assessments: one based on videotaped observations of children in the home, the second on caregiver reports, and the third on performance in a standardized test situation;

4) To document and trace longitudinally the childrearing practices and styles used by black caregivers in socializing their infant-toddlers and to identify the underlying rationales, life experiences, life conditions, and personal characteristics that influence these practices and their associated attitudes and expectations;

5) To document and describe the lives of black families, focusing both on (a) factors that commonly cause stress for black mothers and influence their ability to cope with the problems of parenthood and of living in a society in which racial and social discrimination are pervasive aspects of daily life; and (b) sources of happiness, satisfaction, self-esteem, hope, and pride for black mothers.

Sample: The sample consists of 25 black families who at the time of recruitment were rearing their infant or toddler at home. Although participants were deliberately recruited to represent a broad range of social classes, family structure and other demographic characteristics, median splits show that the sample is well-balanced on important independent variables such as the child's sex, birth order, family income and maternal education. (See Table 3.)

Methods: Data collection is accomplished through monthly three-hour visits to each home, starting ideally when the child is twelve months of age and ending when the child is thirty-six months of age. Five basic types of data are gathered: 1) videotaped and eyewitness observations of children's behavior and interactions in their normal home environment; 2) child-focused interviews with mothers; 3) child assessments; 4) adult-focused interviews with parents; and 5) assessments of the physical environment and material and cultural resources

of the home. The data gathering effort is organized in six-month cycles with appropriate modifications of procedures made for each cycle. Most of the observations and child-focused interviews occur in the first three cycles, while most of the more in-depth adult-focused interviews are concentrated in the fourth cycle. A chronological list of the procedures is given in Table 4.

1. Observations. Between three and five hours of observation data on each child are collected in the first three cycles, using both eyewitness and videotape recording procedures. The observation data are coded in terms of a basic behavior-coding system entitled TIES (developed by Carew, Rosenberger et al., 1978) and a complementary coding scheme (Social-Emotional Interaction Themes, developed by Carew, David, and Rosenberger, 1980), which traces in richer qualitative detail interactions that are of prime importance in the socialization of very young children. These interactions include control-direction; affection-attachment; the handling of distress, aggression, and attention-seeking; responsiveness to requests by the child; and the encouragement of prosocial behavior. A brief overview of codes in the TIES system is given in Table 5.

Inter-coder agreement (exact agreement on each code between coder-pairs) has been tested periodically in TIES and found to be highly satisfactory (above 85 percent). Recently the reliability of the TIES scoring system was independently estimated in an evaluation of the Child and Family Resource Program (Connell and Carew, 1980), and the error variance for each code attributable to inter-coder unreliability was found to be less than 5%.

2. Child-Focused Interviews. The first three cycles include a series of interviews with the mother focusing on various aspects of development and caregiving. Each series typically comprises: 1) an update of the child's daily routine, health and developmental status (progress in toilet training, feeding, sleeping, motor, language and social skills; changes in interest and activities); 2) an open-ended video-playback interview probing the mother's perceptions of the child's behavior, capabilities, interests and personality, and the role she and significant others play in the child's ongoing development; 3) two or more interviews focusing specifically on the mother's attitudes towards and methods of handling disobedience, aggression, crying, attention-seeking, and of demonstrating love, affection and pleasure towards the child; 4) a standardized questionnaire on the mother's perceptions of the child's level of development with respect to various intellectual, language, creative, motor and self-care skills, the child's frequency of engagement in activities likely to promote these competencies, and the degree to which the mother and other family members may stimulate development through involvement in appropriate interactions with the child.

3. Child Assessments. The Bayley Mental Development Scales are administered by a black tester to the children when they are 24 and 30 months of age. The children are tested in their own homes in the presence of their mothers. Each session is videotaped. The purpose of giving this test is to compare the children's social behavior and

intellectual peformance in the highly structured, unfamiliar test situation to corresponding data drawn from the mothers' reports of them and from direct observation of them in their normal day to day activities. Preliminary analyses of the 24-month test data already indicate gross disparities for several children between test performance and the two other types of assessments.

4. Adult-Focused Interviews. Each cycle also includes interviews with the mother (and when possible, the father) to obtain information on factors that help or hinder the black mother in coping with the problems of parenthood and of being black in American society while at the same time deriving physical and mental well-being, happiness, self-esteem, hope and pride from her daily life. The interviews combine standardized and open-ended questions designed to tap: 1) basic demographic information; 2) childhood and family history; 3) critical life events; 4) present life conditions and responsibilities; 5) social networks and support systems; 6) interpersonal relationships; 7) coping strategies; and 8) feelings of depression, anxiety, self-esteem and mastery. Many of these interviews were taken or adapted from those used in the Families and Stress Project (Belle et al., 1979).

5. Physical Environment. The physical environment and material and cultural resources of the home are measured during home visits when the child is 18 and 29 months of age. The assessment includes making a complete videotaping of the premises and immediate neighborhood; sketching a floor plan of the home; recording objective data on furnishings, equipment, lighting, media, toys, and black cultural artifacts; and rating various features of the home with respect to crowdedness, order, safety, cleanliness and comfort.

Current Status of TIES

We are now in the midst of our third cycle of data gathering (on children age 24-30 months) and will complete the data collection effort by January, 1981, when the youngest child reaches age 3.

In accordance with our proposal plan, coding of the observation and interview information has proceeded concurrently with the data collection, but full scale quantitative analysis of the data will not begin until the final project year (September, 1980). Substantively, the final data analysis will address the following major questions:

1) What types of social and non-social behavior, activities and interactions do black infants and toddlers engage in from age 1 to 3? What part do mothers and other family members play in the children's daily experiences?

2) What is the typical course of development of various social, creative, intellectual, language, self-care, and physical competencies when children are observed in their ordinary, familiar environment going about their normal activities?

3) What are the connections between the children's daily experiences (both the ones they create for themselves in their

independent pursuits and those that others play some part in producing) and their development of the competencies just referred to?

4) What consistency is there among assessments of children's development based on their performances in standardized test situations, mothers' reports, and objective observations of their everyday behavior? Do similar patterns of relationships between experiences and development hold when these different types of assessments are considered as "outcomes"?

5) What views do black parents have of race? How are these views related to their life experiences? What aspects of black culture and attributes are emphasized and admired in the home? What aspects are derogated? How do black parents help their children recognize and handle experiences of prejudice and discrimination?

6. Are different styles of parenting discernible among black mothers, and if so, how are these related to factors such as education and income, childhood and family history, critical life events, current life conditions, child-care and household and work responsibilities, involvement in social and support networks and institutions, and interpersonal relationships with family members?

7) How do the factors just mentioned relate to the black mother's ability to cope with the everyday difficulties of living, with crises, and with the particular pervasive problem of social and racial discrimination? Which factors exacerbate her problems and undermine her physical and mental well-being and that of her family? From what sources does she draw strength, happiness, self-esteem, pride and hope?

These questions will be examined through a combination of quantitative and qualitative analytic stragegies. Considering the small and heterogeneous nature of the sample, it is clearly not feasible to test statistically the effects of independent, family characteristic variables on the dependent data. Instead, the quantitative analysis will focus on revealing the connections within and among the three sets of dependent measures (the observation, interview and assessment items). For example, the analysis of the observation data will organize the many discrete categories subsumed under separate dimensions of the TIES scoring system in terms of patterns of codes that are logically and conceptually linked across dimensions of child and caregiver behavior. Certain patterns are considered important because of previous work connecting them to the developing socio-emotional and intellectual competencies of the child (Carew, 1980). These include:

A. The child in non-interactive contexts (for example, independent play) engaging in <u>self-generated</u>, mastery-oriented "intellectually valuable" activities (such as, fine-motor/spatial mastery behavior).

B. The child in interaction with the caregiver engaging in similar self-generated activities, with the caregiver essentially as an onlooker.

C. The child in interaction with the caregiver engaging in similar activities but with the child acting essentially as the onlooker and the caregiver as the active agent, creating, structuring and sustaining the experience for the child through techniques of teaching, play and helping.

D. The child in interaction with the caregiver in contexts in which the caregiver: i) exercises control over the child's activities; ii) responds to behaviors such as displays of anger/aggression, distress, and "socially undesirable" forms of attention-seeking by the child; iii) engages in affectional interchanges with the child; and iv) responds to help- and information-seeking overtures by the child.

Finally, at a still more qualitative level, detailed written and videotape case studies, modelled after those by Carew, Chan, and Halfar (1976), and Carew and Lightfoot (1979), will be constructed on a number of children and their families. These case studies will serve to make the quantitative analysis concrete and personal, to place it within a wider historical, ecological, societal and political context, and to probe the many fundamental "why" questions that this study will doubtless raise.

Methodological Innovations: Naturalistic Video Observation

The process of videotaping "au naturel," the essence of our new methodology, was not a major part of our original plan for the study. When we embarked on this research our plan was simply to videotape a few pilot subjects in order to develop training materials for the major study, which would be based on eyewitness observation. We were warned by everyone we consulted that videotaping in a completely uncontrolled home setting could not be done, and if we were foolish enough to try, the mere presence of a camera would inevitably and fundamentally distort the behavior of participants. We knew that several other researchers had used video but that they had settled for taping behind one-way mirrors in a laboratory setting (Freedle and Lewis, 1977; Slaughter, 1979) or in a controlled situation, such as feeding (Kaye, 1977), or had confined their observations to charming but relatively inactive babies (Stern, 1977) or had worked with only a few especially cooperative parents (Bruner, 1978). We found no study in which a serious attempt had been made to videotape the roving, unpredictable, free-flowing pursuits of toddlers on their home turf. Our pilot work, however, was encouraging. We felt we had made a serendipitous breakthrough and were determined to see how far we could go with the videotape approach. We scraped our budget to the bone, bought equipment at a discount, found a former TV news producer as an assistant, and with much trepidation, penetrated the perilous frontiers of video-based research.

Effects of Videotaping on Recruitment: Would the prospect of being videotaped attract or repel potential subjects? It was certainly an asset so far as obtaining publicity. "Unique Videotape Study of Black Babies. All Black Babies are Beautiful!" said our flyer, and the media loved it. In retrospect we think that some parents were certainly enticed by the notion of seeing pretty Didi on VT, but were equally many put off? One never really knows why subjects volunteer for any study, but when the question was raised in introductory visits we were amazed at how matter-of-factly parents reacted to the idea. Brought up in a TV culture they seem to regard it as nothing out of the ordinary. Our offer of a regular $20 monthly payment was clearly a great incentive to some, but for most the opportunity to participate in research about blacks seemed pivotal. This latter point can hardly be overemphasized because we seriously doubt the study would have received the same unreserved acceptance had our staff not been entirely black.

The Art of Naturalistic Videotaping: The most important objective in making a video observation in TIES is to obtain a video record of the child's normal behavior and interactions with a familiar human and physical environment, while at the same time ensuring that the high technical standards required for coding the data are met. Having no precedents to follow, we have had to learn how to do this on our own.

1. Equipment and Movement. The equipment used by the observer is the Sony portable VTR system consisting of the AV-3400 video recorder and AVC-3450 video camera. "Beep" signals delineating the coding intervals are recorded directly onto the videotape from an audio cassette recorder linked to the camera's microphone. To give the observer ease of movement while following the child from area to area, the video-deck is carried in a backpack or slung from the shoulder and the camera is hand-held. As far as possible no accessory sound or lighting apparatus is used. Instead, if necessary, the observer makes minor modifications in the home's normal lighting and sound levels (for example, by replacing low voltage lightbulbs with ones of higher intensity, drawing or closing drapes, asking that the stereo volume be turned down). The videotaper then scans the physical environment, noting particularly the arrangement of rooms and the placement of furniture she can "blend into." During the video observation the videotaper holds the camera by hand in tripod position, kneeling, bending, sitting, slinking, sliding -- doing whatever works to keep the child on camera and to make herself inconspicuous. She maintains a distance of about ten feet from the child, avoiding eye contact or interaction and anticipating the child's movements with the intuition that comes from experience. Foreseeing the child's interactions with another person is particularly demanding since the behavior of both people must be captured on tape, and the interactor is often many yards away and several feet taller than the child. After 10 minutes of taping a rest is imperative to restore nerves and energy and to readjust equipment.

2. "Act Naturally." How does a researcher convey initially that what is wanted and valued is that participants "act naturally?" The standard instruction, "try to act normally, as if we were not there," is woefully inadequate. Rapport and trust have to be established from the

start, and the message, "Look, I'm a mother/woman/black too and we have many things in common," must be clearly communicated. One strategy we have found particularly helpful, at the end of the first few visits to the home, is to show the mother excerpts from the videotape to illustrate concretely how the child is affected by changes in the normal routine and how much the child's acting naturally depends on the mother's doing the same. With some judicious questioning by the videotaper ("Are you usually able to get the house cleaned up so early in the morning?" "Is this what you normally do when Pete dumps his o.j. on the floor?" "Do you usually sit and read with Lisa or look at the Soaps after lunch?"), a candid critique is often given by the caregiver as to what is or is not normal. Thereafter there is a noticeable shift towards more relaxed, unstaged, and uninhibited behavior. On subsequent visits mothers are reminded that our interest is in the mundane, everyday experiences that children encounter in their familiar social and physical environment and that there is no need whatsoever either to act in any special fashion or to make things more convenient for us. The latter point must be stressed because often caregivers are motivated not so much by the desire to "look good" as by the wish to help out (for example, by confining the child to a particular room, shooing siblings away, or turning off the TV).

Special strategies also have to be employed with older children because of their fascination with the video apparatus and understandable jealousy of the toddler's prima donna status. These feelings are best responded to immediately, by demonstrating how the equipment works, allowing them to handle it, and coopting them as helpers in setting up the video paraphernalia. Once the preparations for taping are finished, the videotaper announces that she is ready to work and from then on studiously avoids eye contact and interaction. The fact that she is obviously very busy handling a machine (and not "just watching and writing something") definitely helps, since what the videotaper wants to establish is a consistent, predictable routine that satisfies the older child's need for attention while spelling out her expectations as to appropriate behavior at each stage of the videotaping process. Soon, even the most rambunctious preschoolers seem to get the point. Occasionally, the opposite problem arises when, say, a grandmother or father refuses to be on camera. We respect these feelings and accommodate by not following the toddler when he or she encroaches on parts of the home that are designated beforehand as the older person's territory, but such changes in the ground rules (do not stop the camera; follow the child like a shadow) are seldom necessary and are usually gradually abandoned as people become accustomed to us and comfortable with our presence in the home.

Of course, in the final analysis, the best guarantee of normal behavior is simply repeated visits to the home, frequent restatements of the purposes of the research, and the gradual building up of a trusting, mutually respectful, friendly relationship between the researcher and the caregiver. In the context of such a relationship, nurtured by many conversations, discussions, and interviews, most parents become collaborators rather than subjects in the research enterprise. They understand the role they are called on to play -- which is simply to be themselves -- and internalize the deep purpose of the study --which is

to depict the lives of black children and families objectively and authentically. They want this story told, for they know it has not been told very well so far, and they are prepared to be the first ones to tell it.

Videotaping as a Significant Psychological Experience for Toddlers: Credit it to our naivete if you will, but it came as a surprise that being videotaped could be a most significant psychological experience for toddlers. We only dimly realized beforehand that in making longitudinal video observations we would capture on tape behavioral evidence of the growth of a complex concept for which we still have no more elegant name than "Watching and Recording Me," or for short, WARME.

Before they are 18 months of age, most of our toddlers seem unaware that they are being watched. They may show some timidity toward the videotaper as a stranger and some curiosity about the video equipment, but both soon wear off. Most children go about their affairs much as if we were not there (assuming that the mother is doing her part to ensure that the child's environment and experiences are normal). Then, between 18 and 24 months of age, many toddlers suddenly seem to become conscious that they are being watched. The WARME concept glimmers. What is that person doing with that thing? At this stage some toddlers will stand staring at the videotaper, or approach and glue their eyes to the camera lens, or wriggle in front of it so as to better see what the videotaper sees. Several mimic her behavior, slinging a bag over a shoulder like a video-deck or sticking an object into an ear like an earplug. One talented 22-month old elaborated her performance to the point of screwing up one eye, planting a tube on the other, then slowly panning the scene like a professional.

Preliminary impressions suggest that before age two most toddlers are simply trying to understand the way the video equipment works and the nature of the videotaping activity itself. For them, it is like exploring the properties and functions of a new toy, with the added attraction that a grownup is modeling its use. At this age, our subjects seem to realize that the camera is for watching things, including themselves, but they seem to have no idea that a reviewable record of their behavior is being created. This is an intriguing phenomenon because several are beginning to watch TV, some have sat in earlier on our video-playback sessions, and a few have seemed to recognize themselves on the playback tapes. Yet, so far we have only one clear case of a full-blown grasp of the WARME concept. In this case the father happens to be a video buff. He is the proud possessor of the very latest in video paraphernalia including color camera and mammoth playback screen, and his daughter is his favorite subject. Knowing this, the videotaper still could hardly contain herself when 22-month-old Michelle flashed a knowing grin at the end of the session and declared: "Okay? Now, show me on TV!"

When children are between 18 and 24 months of age, fascinating developments in their awareness of the social role of the videotaper also begin to emerge. At first there surfaces something like apprehension that mischief may be reported or reprimanded. Ready to perform a "no-no", the child checks to see if the videotaper is watching and how she will react. When it is clear that she'll do nothing, some children

do the most outrageous acts, such as tipping baby brother out of his crib, then running to tell mother he "just fell." Others remain vigilant and some may become resentful, even aggressive. We call these the "leg batterers" since they assault the videotaper where they can most easily reach her -- on the leg. We hope this stage will pass and be followed by the more positive developments in social behavior that some of our other two-year-olds are beginning to evince. These charmingly cooperative subjects seem to regard the videotaper as a somewhat inept friend in need of help. They beckon her to follow, wait for her to catch up, open doors for her politely and announce what's next on their agendas so she can be prepared. We expect that in another six months, a new phase may emerge as the two-and-a-half year olds assert their rights for privacy and discover their potential for controlling the actions of a relatively powerless grown-up. We are a long way from systematically analyzing our data on the WARME concept but feel we may be on to something, at the very least the ingredients of a refreshingly different Masters' thesis.

The Pros and Cons of Video Versus Eyewitness Observations: Despite our somewhat tongue-in-cheek remarks about the development of WARME, videotaping seems to us a far superior method of documenting behavior than procedures such as eyewitness on-the-spot coding or written or narrated descriptions. The reasons are obvious.

First, videotaping records behavior more objectively and captures much more of its complexity than other methods. Separating the collection of the raw data from its interpretation (the description or coding) into two distinct steps enables the researcher to check inter-coder agreement more rigorously than the customary method of teaming observers in the home. Using videotapes, coders can work under completely "blind" and independent conditions -- an ideal that can never be reached by the traditional method of teamed eyewitness observations since here the observers are virtually always aware that their reliability is being tested and often cannot see behavior from the same vantage point.

Second, the validity of the coding system can be also more rigorously examined with video-observations since these allow the raw data to be reviewed by as many different people and from as many different perspectives as appropriate. This permits the "fit" of the coding system to actual behavior to be scruitinized, and the relationship of coder characteristics (for example, ethnicity) to coding (behavior interpretation) to be determined.

Third, videotapes provide far more complete information about behavior than other procedures, since coders can review them numerous times and analyze different aspects of behavior each time. Eyewitness observers or narrators are severely limited in how much data they can record accurately about fast-flowing, unpredictably changing, and complex events.

Fourth, videotapes are extremely efficient materials for training coders. A systematic curriculum can be designed including instructional tapes explaining each code of the scoring system, practice tapes

of increasing levels of complexity, and criterion tapes for checking final levels of accuracy. Coders can be taught the system in groups, their progress monitored step by step, and their levels of proficiency tested before, during and after the course of data collection in the field.

Finally, videotapes are particularly valuable as a vehicle for disseminating the methods and findings of research, although so far their potential has been little exploited. It is often very difficult to describe behavior, especially the actions of very young children, with precision and sensitivity. Since videotapes present behavior as it is manifested, the risk of bias and miscommunication that verbal description entails can be greatly minimized, although the technical and artistic skills required to produce scientifically valid videotape representations of research are themselves formidable.

So much for the advantages. On the debit side one drawback is the sheer cost in equipment, material, and labor. Depending on the complexity of the coding system, the ratio of tape to coding time can be prohibitively high, although the payoff in terms of information extracted per unit of observation time is potentially much larger than from alternative procedures. A more serious charge already attended to is that videotaping distorts the behavior of participants to a significantly greater degree or in a more fundamentally serious fashion than feasible alternative procedures. There is in fact very little empirical evidence on this point. In TIES we shall make detailed comparisons between video and eyewitness methods since both are used on home observations. So far preliminary analyses of these data indicate little difference in the profiles of activities recorded, apart from curiosity concerning the video apparatus per se. The WARME phenomenon described above also occurs in eyewitness observations; both procedures reflect children's growing consciousness of having their behavior watched and recorded, an awareness that is part and parcel of developing cognitive and socio-emotional competence. Indeed, the fact that the videotaping documents this evolution is an asset rather than a shortcoming.

A third disadvantage of videotaping is that it involves considerably more work for the observer. Equipment has to be maintained in working order, hauled about, lugged up to apartments with no elevators, set up for, carried during, and put away after each observation. A 20-pound video deck strapped to one's back and a 4-pound camera held in one's hand seem to double their weight after 15 minutes. Brawn and stamina are essential. Then there is the laborious task of coding the videotapes after an observation, which with the TIES system takes an average of 3 hours per ½-hour of observation. It is much less taxing on mind and body to observe and code the data on the spot.

Video Data-Bank

If our methods are successful, one special product of this study will be a video data-bank tracing longitudinally, from age one to three, in rich, ecologically valid detail, the everyday home experiences of some 25 black children. The backgrounds of these subjects are representative of those of black families and consequently are diverse in terms of

education, income, and material resources; family structure, roles and relationships; life histories and current life conditions; and caregiver styles of interaction, child-rearing practices, attitudes and values -- in short, the many factors that mediate children's day-to-day experiences and affect their day-to-day functioning and development. Potentially these video observations can be coded from a variety of cultural, theoretical, methodological, disciplinary and applied perspectives and in more or less elaborate detail. They can be used to test the reliability, validity, and cultural appropriateness of TIES or any other coding system. They can also be used to answer many methodologically and substantively important questions about such phenomena as the stability of behavior over time and across situations; the longitudinal changes in children's behavior and the parallel, interrelated process of caregiving; and similarities and differences in the paths taken by individual children to various developmental achievements, and in the strategies used by caregivers to foster these attainments. Possible practical applications include the production of instructional video materials, either to teach students about child development and family interactions or to train caregivers in more effective methods of maximizing the development of young children. Assuming problems of confidentiality and misuse of data can be solved, such a video-bank has great potential value.

Conclusion

The main purpose of this paper has been to delineate some new methods of data collection and coding currently being used in our longitudinal observational study of black toddlers in Oakland, California. Our emphasis has been on methodological innovations using videotaping methods, because we have found this procedure to be an amazingly valuable research tool. The longitudinal nature of the project, confidentiality agreements with participants, and the sheer volume of routine data collection procedures prevent our reporting anything more than tantalizing impressions of our substantive findings at this time. In less than one year, however, we expect to have a story about the black experience that has never before been objectively documented or publicized.

Footnotes

1. The project is to be completed in Fall, 1981.

2. The female pronoun will be used in references to the videotaper throughout this paper, since all our videotapers are female.

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Table 1

CULTURE SPECIFIC VALUES SHARED BY AFRO-AMERICAN FAMILIES

Area	Culture Specific Values	Reference
DISCIPLINE	Strict Discipline appreciated; Situation-specific discipline considered appropriate	Young (1970); Peters (1969)
PERCEPTION OF CHILDREN	Value placed on child, essentially, for who he/she is; i.e., child of this family; Encouragement of "individualistic" personality within the primary group	Bossard and Boll (1960) Young (1970)
EXPECTATIONS RE AGE/SEX APPROPRIATE CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITIES	Reponsibility training (self-care, help with housework) required earlier. Less Distinction made in assigning tasks to boys and girls.	Lewis (1976); Peters (1976)
FAMILY ROLES	Role flexibility within family; Sharing both income-producing and household roles, child care and financial management responsibilities	Hill (1972); Willie (1976); Peters (1976)
EXTENDED FAMILY	Preference for black community; Preference for extensive and active kin/friend support system	Nobles (1976); Stack (1974)
RACE/ RACISM	Awareness of dual identity; i.e. both American and Black American; Awareness of the routine, pervasive nature of racism as well as of its potential for producing major, unpredictable crises disrupting the lives of the family, community or the larger society.	Pierce (1974); Knowles and Prewitt (1969)

Table 2

SPECIAL QUALITIES/BEHAVIORS TOWARD WHICH BLACK CHILDREN ARE SOCIALIZED

EMPHASIS ON:

1. Allowing both males and females to express emotions such as affection, anger, jealousy, hate, love, fear, happiness, unhappiness
(Nobles, 1974; Gay, 1975; Peters, 1976)

2. Importance of sharing
Importance of working on chore or task collaboratively with others
Expecting help from others
(Nobles, 1974; Gay, 1975)

3. Humanistic orientation:
solving human problems
working with/for people
preferring jobs involving people to technical jobs
placing high value on getting along with others
(Nobles, 1974; Gay, 1975; Abrahams, 1970)

4. Respect for authority figures
Importance of following orders
(Gay, 1972; Kohn, 1969; Peters, 1976)

5. High value of variety of responses, abilities, and talents:
physical/motoric/rhythmic
musical/athletic
verbal/social
(Gay, 1975; Abrahams, 1970; Gay and Abrahams, 1972; Peters, 1976)

6. High development of skills for oral transmission of information (Abrahams and Gay, 1972)

7. Receptivity to multiple environmental stimuli: dual attention ability (Gay, 1974; Pierce, 1974)

Table 3

TIES SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Family	C Sex	Birth Order	# Sibs	M Age	F Age	Marital Status	Care-giver	Income	M Ed.	F Ed.
#01	M	1	0	29	37	S(NM)	M	2	3	-
02	M	2	5	30	31	M	M	3	1	2
03	M	2	1	25	47	S(NM)	M	1	3	-
05	F	1	0	21	24	LT(NM)	M&F	3	2	2
06	F	1	0	22	33	LT(NM)	M	1	2	2
07	M	2	1	23	24	S(D)	M	1	1	1
08	F	2	1	22	53	M	M&Gm	3	1	1
09	M	2	3	29	37	M	M	3	1	2
10	F	1	0	26	31	M	M	3	2	3
11	F	1	1	22	20	M	M	1	2	1
12	F	1	0	33	29	M	M	3	2	2
13	F	2	2	--	--	M	M	3	2	1
15	F	1	1	27	33	M	F	3	1	1
17	M	1	1	26	26	M	M	2	2	2
18	F	1	1	32	31	M	M	4	2	3
19	M	1	0	21	35	M	F	1	2	2
20	F	1	0	29	29	M	M	3	2	2
21	M	2	2	27	41	M	M	2	2	3
22	M	2	1	28	--	S(NM)	M	1	2	2
23	F	1	0	22	32	(SNM)	M	2	1	1
24	M	2	1	26	39	M	M	1	2	1
26	F	2	4	28	27	M	M	2	1	1
27	F	2	1	20	23	S(NM)	M	1	1	1
28	F	1	1	34	30	M	M	3	2	1
29	M	2	6	41	44	M	M	2	1	1
30	M	2	2	23	39	M	M&F	3	1	1

KEY

C=Child, M=Mother, F=Father, Gm=Grandmother

Birth Order	Marital Status	Income	Education
1=First born	M=Married	1=$500/month	1=11-12 years
1=Later born	S(NM)=Single, never married	2=$500-$1000 mo.	2=12-16 years
	LT(NM)=Living together, never married	3=$1000-$2000	3=16+ years
	S(D)=Single, divorced	4=$2000	

Table 4

TIES PROCEDURES

Age (mos.)	Caregiver Interviews: Major Topics	Observations		Tests
	Cycle 1	Eyewitness	Video	
1.	General. Screening; Medical history; Demographics; C's daily routine; Developmental progress, C's personality description.			
13	Video-playback (C in independent play); Affection-attachment	30'	30'	
14	Video-playback (M-C interaction); Control-obedience	30'	30'	
15	Video-playback (Sib-C interaction); Distress; Aggression	30'	30'	
16	Detailed demographics; C-rearing training, knowledge; C's relationships with relatives	30'	30'	
17	C's skills; Stimulation of skills		60'	
	Cycle II			
18	General (update); Physical environment	30'	30'	
19	Detailed demographics; C-rearing training, experience, knowledge; C's relationships with relatives			
20	Affection-attachment	30'	30'	
21	Control-obedience; Distress; Aggression	30'	30'	
22	Social and support networks; Sources C-rearing ideas; Division of child-care and household chores, Work history			
23	C's skills; Stimulation of skills		60	
24	Father interview			Bayley MDI (videotaped)

Table 4 (continued)

TIES PROCEDURES

Age	Caregiver Interviews: Major Topics	Observations		Tests
(mos.)	Cycle III	Eyewitness	Video	
25	General (update)		60'	
26	Affection-attachment		60'	
27	Control-obedience; Distress; Aggression			
28	Childhood and family history			
29	Physical environment (update)		60'	
30	C's skills; Stimulation of skills			Bayley MDI (videotaped)
	Cycle IV			
31	Life conditions			
32	Social and racial discrimination			
33	Coping and stress			
34	Father interview		60'	
35	Physical Environment (update)			
36	Sources of satisfaction, self-esteem and price; Feedback			

Key

C=Child M=Mother Sib= Sibling

Table 5: TIES Coding Form and Codes

Video_____ Live_____

Child_____ Coder_____ Date_____ Start_____ End_____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	(C) or (CI)					(Cg)	(I)								(C)		
EDT	ACTIVITY				MAS	LOC	WHO		INT	SRC	F / C		LAN	EMO	LAN	EMO	MOB
S	Ng	Dp	Fd	Dr	P	N	Cg	Of Om	C	C	T	E	Y	H	Y	H	F
R	Cn	Li	Wk	Et	Y	F	M	Yf Ym	D	CI	P	R	U	S	U	S	H
V	Ds	Ms	Fe	Nt	Q	A	F	Bf Bm	B	I	H	S	N	A	N	A	C
I	Ps	Ex	Gm	Mn	N		Af Am	G			D	Z		N		N	
E	Af	Ca	Pn	Tr			O	P			C	I					
X	Rq	Fs	Cv	X	X			X	X	X	L	X	X	X	X	X	X

1																	
2																	
3																	
4																	
5																	

NOTES

Etc. (15 lines per page, 1 line per 3" observation)

*C = Child; I = Interactor; CI = Child and Interactor; Cg = Caregiver

EDT=Edit

S=Same codes as previous units
R=Behavior functionally related to previous behavior
V=Validity questionable
I=I's behavior unclear
E=Equipment, audio-visual problems
X=C out of range; can't code

ACTIVITY

Ng=Anger/aggression
Cn=Control
Ds=Distress/attention-seeking
Ps=Prosocial
Af=Affection
Rq=Child requests
Dp=Dramatic play
Li=Language/information
Ms=Music, singing
Ex=Experimentation
Ca=Creative/artistic
Fs=Fine motor spatial
Fd=Fine motor dexterity
Wk=Work, chores
Fe=Fine motor exploratory
Gm=Gross motor
Pn=Physical needs
CV=Conversation
Dr=Adult directives
Et=Educational media
Nt=Non-educational media
Mn=Monitoring
Tr=Transport, locomote
X=None of the above

Table 5 (cont'd)

MAS=Mastery by C

P=Yes, shows pride
Y=Yes
Q=Yes, questions
N=No

INT=Interaction Type

C=Convergent
D=Divergent
B=Borderline

Cg LOC=Caregiver Location

N=Near
F=Far
A=Absent

SRC=Source of Activity

C=Child
CI=Child and Interactor
I=Interactor

WHO (Who is the Interactor?)

Cg=Caregiver
M=Mother (if not Cg)
F=Father (if not Cg)
Af=Adult female age 12+ yrs.
Am=Adult male age 12+ yrs.
Of=Older female child 6-11
Om=Older male child 6-11
Yf=Younger female child 3-5
Ym=Younger male child 3-5
Bf=Baby/toddler, female (0-3)
Fm=Baby/toddler, male (0-3)
G=Group (2 or more persons)
P=Pet, toy
X=None of the above

F=Facilitate by I

T=Teach
P=Play/participate
H=Help
D=Direct
C=Conversation
L=Look/listen

C=Control by I

E=Explanation
R=Routine control
S=Strict control
Z=Protest
I=Ignore

LAN=Language by I

Y=Yes
U=Unintelligible/
inaudible
N=No

EMO=Emotion by I

H=Happy
S=Sad
A=Angry
N=Neutral

LAN=Language by C

Y=Yes
U=Unintelligible/
Audible
N=No

EMO=Emotion by C

H=Happy
S=Sad
A=Angry
N=Neutral

MOB=Child Mobility

F=Free
H=Held
C=Confined

Parenting With Teenagers*

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As we view those intimate and powerful parent-child relationships with young people who are adolescent or pre-adolescent, we can easily be baffled, if not overwhelmed, by the complexity of these relationships. If there is a single unifying theme, it is symbolized by a preposition, "with" -- a term we use to denote the relationship as reciprocal and interactive. When we care for infants, the obligations and duties largely flow in one direction: we parent them. For teenagers, however, I would contend that the responsibilities not only can be but must be two-way.

This thesis takes into account eight factors:

1. In size, strength, and reproductive capacity most teenagers can perform as adults.

2. Most teenagers are capable of using logic and attaining insight.

3. The world expects teenagers to assume certain adult roles in some instances and to behave as children in others.

4. The present personalities of teenagers have been shaped in at least four previous stages of development.

5. Teenagers are engaged in establishing the sense of identity which will affect the rest of their lives.

6. Parents of teenagers are at turning points in their own lives.

7. To the vital information about pathology that has shaped much thinking about teenagers, data about normality can now be added.

8. Equally important, we are not acquiring scientific knowledge relating to prosocial behavior or altruism, if you will.

To illustrate how these factors can be integrated into a real-life whole, consider this episode. A 17-year-old girl felt that her father had subtly involved her mother in an extramarital affair which precipitated the break-up of the parents' marrige. One evening, a year after the divorce, when the girl was returning home late from a party, she

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*Presented November 5, 1980.

saw her mother sitting forlornly waiting for her. Deciding that she could not enjoy her own social life until her mother had regained happiness, the girl subsequently asked her counselor for a list of organizations which could aid the mother, and for some suggestions as to how to deal with the situation.

When I relate this incident to my classes, the students chorus, "What's unusual about that? It happens a lot."

Teenagers Today

Let us now go back over the list of factors and comment on each.

Physique: The focus of teenagers' development is puberty, which brings with it greater strength and dexerity, and, importantly, the capacity for reproduction. If a matter requires strength or skillfully applied muscle power, parents no longer always have to do things for teenagers; the odds are they can do things for us. On a camping trip, for example, they can put up the tents better than we can. They can drive cars and, in an emergency, change flat tires. They can do the lifting and the opening and the carrying. Sexually they are mature and they can produce children. They can be both sexually attracted and attractive.

Intellect: Coupled with physical maturity is an increasing maturity of teenagers' intellectual skills. In Piaget's terms, they are able to use "formal operations." They can use words, and how! They can master the symbols used in music and mathematics. They can debate logically and can be painfully sharp in attacking arguments they dislike. They can think, with insight, about their own thinking and ours.

Recollect the vignette of the girl analyzing her own reactions and those of her divorced mother. If you were in trouble, would you appreciate having a son or a daughter with her acumen? Maybe you have!

Overlapping Roles: My good friend, Jack Kounin, is fond of pointing out that the essential problem of adolescents is that we expect them to live in two worlds -- childhood and adulthood. Again, examine the vignette. Who was taking care of whom? Who was doing the parenting? Was the girl? Was the mother? Or were both of them taking turns?

The mother needed help and the daughter was helping her obtain it. That's what a loving daughter should do. At the same time, the mother was worried about the girl's safety and was sitting up, probably ready to summon help if the girl was out too late. That's what a loving mother will do. The girl could understand her mother loved her and felt responsible for her. Yet, her mother needed the girl to act as a sympathetic adult.

This is typical and it is the reason I have spotlighted the phrase, "parenting with." As adults, we must foster, protect and encourage our teenage children. Yet our teenagers, in turn, should be sensitive

to our needs. When they actually do something for us, our positions are reversed for the moment. The ebb and flow of these role reversals are the hallmark of a newly emerging parental balance.

Personal Histories: Both the nature of our parenting and the effects of the environment upon our children prior to their teenage years are now having consequences. We can see these effects in behavioral trends. To the somewhat oversimplified picture painted so far, there must be added all the shades and complications that grow out of the blend of inherited potentials and the ways these have developed.

One way of looking at all of this is to take the schema promulgated by Erikson, who pictured development as a series of turning points, each of which leads us to one of two contrasting emotional bents. According to him, four crises occur prior to adolescence. From the first we emerge with either trust or mistrust; from the second, with autonomy or doubt; from the third, with initiative or guilt; from the fourth, with industry or inferiority.

To see how these display themselves in the teen years, let us first assume all went unbelievably well. What would the paragon be like? According to the matrix, as Erikson describes it, he or she would be capable of tackling problems with temporal perspective and would be aware of future effects and past roots. There would be self-certainty in approaching new experiences. This young person would enjoy experimenting with roles and could relate to adult guidance and future opportunities as would an eager apprentice. For such a youth, parents could be guides, companions, and task givers.

Suppose, however, much had gone wrong in earlier stages. The picture, then, would be the reverse. The adolescent would tend to live in a narrow present, confused as to any time perspectives beyond the now. In dealing with new experiences, the young person would be beset by self-consciousness. He or she would tend to remain fixed in present roles, to act almost as though paralyzed when confronting situations requiring work or effort. Faced by such a son or daughter most adults would be at a loss as to how to help. Fortunately, of course, most young people are not at this extreme. Accordingly, the roles of parents must be tailored to both the strengths and weaknesses their children have derived from the past.

The Identity Crisis: Erikson (1968) is often cited as the originator of the idea that the chief critical event in adolescence is either the attainment of identity or a lapse into identity confusion. Recognition of this aspect of development, however, has a long history. Among European authorities who base their theorizing on studies of young people's diaries from past decades, there has been recognition that these adolescents were preoccupied with self-concern. Maurice Debasse (1951) subtitled such a work, "La Crise d'Originalite Juvenile," to highlight that this could be a turning point. More recently, in an insightful analysis, Judith Gallatin (1975) had this to say:

> If he is not to be overwhelmed by choice, the adolescent simply must begin to define himself along certain dimen-

> sions. He can build upon identifications of the past in this endeavor -- the feelings of trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry that have hopefully resulted from his attempts to cope with other normative crises -- but he must look ahead to the nuclear conflicts of adulthood as well as develop his own strategies for meeting them . . .
>
> Since so much is happening at once, since the adolescent must make a great many decisions about himself not merely on the basis of what he is likely to become as well, there is considerable potential during this period for indecision and disorientation.

Lest the reader be thrown off by her use of the linguistic custom of using "he" in a generic way, it should be noted that Dr. Gallatin's book is especially rich in its sensitivity to the identity problems of girls.

In dealing with problems of identity, adolescents make great use of talk. They want to discuss problems in depth. For the parents this desire is of special significance. Intellectually keen enough to measure the words of their parents by the examples set in action, adolescents often verbalize the conflict created when a parent's behavior belies his or her preaching. Through such discourse many adults are forced to clarify their own values and beliefs, and in doing so some can become different people, possibly more true to their own principles.

Adults' Needs: About the time offspring are in their teen years, parents are often wrestling with new needs of their own. There may be mid-career changes in occupations. Ambitions are now being weighed against realities of achievements, which in many fields are at their peak by the time adults reach middle age. Those women who chose to concentrate on family tasks are wondering how to spend the rest of their lives. In many families, new strains force a reorganization of all that is implied by such words as love, intimacy, companionship. In addition, the problems of aging grandparents lead to rethinking of life styles by parents.

One way or another, parents may now realize that the decisions they made during their adolescence have led to present dilemmas and conflicts. Unable to relive their lives, parents are tempted to use their offspring as puppets who can engage in corrective reenactments.

In our youth-oriented society, the older generation is tempted to compete with the younger in physical skills, talents, appearance, and sexuality. All kinds of confusion follow when parents decide to cast aside the roles of parenthood and persevere in youthfulness.

Teenagers are often very aware of the concern, as well as the foibles, of their parents. Like the young woman in our vignette, they will talk about these problems, try to act in accordance with their opinions and fashion their own identities on what they learn in the process. There is no stopping this development. Instead parents must decide with what degree of welcome or secretiveness they will greet it.

Normality: Much information about preadolescents and adolescents has come from clinical situations in which psychologists and psychiatrists have learned from troubled young people. Recently, our understanding of adolescence has been improved with information obtained during the 1960s from soundly conceptualized, well-planned, and carefully conducted studies of populations chosen for their normality. Interestingly, the two books which first successfully undertook this task (Offer, 1969; Westley & Epstein, 1969) both carry 1969 publication dates.

The lesson we are learning from this work is implied in a phrase many clinicians use: "well put together." An analogy serves to define this term more clearly. When putting together a well constructed item of furniture, we need to know not only how to fashion the pieces which go into its making but how to create the glue which holds them in place. As I shall describe, the family has much to do with providing the glue as well as the pieces.

What this requires of parents is hinted at in an earlier study by Murphey and her co-workers (1963) of a group of college freshmen identified as effective people. Here is what the researchers had to say:

> We could identify a benign pattern of interaction established between the parents and students rated high in autonomy and relatedness. . . .
>
> These parents tended to have rather stable and consistent values and could communicate these values to the students. In their everyday lives they demonstrated the congruence between their beliefs and actions in such a way as to be models for their children; that is, these parents behaved as autonomous people with inner-directed standards of behavior. Thus, we would assume that the development of autonomy for those students was facilitated through identification with parents who were available as models of autonomous adults.
>
> The parents of students rated low in autonomy and relatedness lacked confidence in the students' ability to achieve autonomy. They were not sure that the students would be successful in college or would be able to get along without them. The students experienced less clarity about their parents' values and there was more often a discrepancy between stated values and parental behavior. Although these students also had experiences with jobs as well as opportunities to live away from home, the parents had not been able to respond to their children's growth by a shift in their own image of the students from dependent children to young adults.

The reciprocal nature of parenting behaviors which emerges bears some very pointed observations. If we know, as we do, that the well-put-together children have well-put-together parents and all live in

well-put-together families, then we must also consider the probability that there is no simple cause-and-effect line operating, but that all are making a contribution to a healthful totality. The adolescents are part of that totality, are capable of affecting it, and are carrying as much responsibility as their parents for doing just that.

Prosocial Behavior: Even more recent in burgeoning has been research on what is being called "prosocial behavior." In their summary of what is known along these lines, Mussen and Eisenberg-Berg (1977) focus on the ability of the young to share, to care, and to help. Strain and Shores (1977), in their review of the relevant research literature, strongly suggest that "reciprocity of social interaction . . . is a critically important factor in developing appropriate affective behavior." Even from a very early age, "well-put-together" children have learned to make themselves enjoyable to others and know how to elicit and reward those behaviors by parents, teachers, and peers that make their own lives more pleasant. They have fun and are good at enticing other people to have fun. In many cases they are reflecting what parents have modelled for them.

We can speculate, then, that the glue which holds together effective families and effective people is mutual enjoyment. Apparently, that reciprocity which we see in parent/adolescent relationships is an outgrowth of what existed, but could not be verbalized, earlier in life. On an emotional level, it translates into a "we-feeling" which can have all-important consequences.

A frequently mentioned prosocial characteristic of young people is their ability to empathize with other people. Hornstein (1976) has spotlighted some of the conditions which affect the probable occurrence of this type of behavior. Calling attention to the usefulness of Lewinian theory in this regard, Wispe (1978) has phrased it thus:

> Lewin presented a more cognitive approach to social and developmental psychology in which the idea of tension systems is a central feature. Psychological tensions are coordinated with internal and external forces, and they operate in a person's goal strivings. But, as Lewin himself noted, the point of application of a psychological force may be regions in the life space other than one's own person. In other words, tensions may arise from experiencing the needs, goals and aspirations of another person. But, of course, not just "any other" will do. In order for promotive tensions to arise, the potential helper must perceive the person-in-need-of-help as similar in some way or other; they must share a "we" bond.

With this in mind, let us ask ourselves what the situation would be if we accepted as inevitable the myth about relationships between the generations that is epitomized by "the generation gap" catchphrases of the 1960s. If it were a continuing reality, then mutuality of goals and feelings would rarely occur. Interestingly, in this regard, the behavior of youth in the 1970s has been quite different from that in the 1960s. As such we can now raise the question: to what extent during

the teen years are parents and children relating to each other as a "we" entity? What evidence we have suggests that the situation differs from family to family. Take, for example, the increasingly prevalent units consisting of a divorced parent and teenage children. Here, economic and emotional necessities place a premium on reciprocity in supportive interactions. In any event it can be said today that opportunities for inter-generational units may be a feature of the parenting scene in the 1980s.

Issues for Parents

Having outlined some of the more important factors which affect parenting behavior when children reach their teens, let us now turn to some of the practical situations in which these operate. Since it is not possible to catalogue all of the possible permutations and combinations, this paper will examine briefly common circumstances in three areas of concern. In no way will these even begin to exhaust the probabilities, much less the possibilities.

The first example we will examine involves the young person whose behavior is worrisome because it is dangerous. At one extreme we find situations in which a young person abuses alcohol just as one of his or her parents has done. Nagging -- resulting from the concern that heavy drinking combined with risky driving might produce fatalities or disabling injury -- compounds the problem by reminding all concerned of family events linked to the alcohol problems of the parent. Ultimately the communication pattern of the family is disrupted and the family is divided. In contrast, we find instances in which the risky behavior is an element in either an adventurous life style or a political activism shared by both generations in the family.

The second example concerns attitudes toward independence. In some families, parents agree that by the conclusion of adolescence, the young man or woman should be able to go it alone, without any hampering ties. In others, parents hope that the young person will attain his or her identity by giving priority to membership in, and responsibility toward, one or another of what sociologists would call "primary groups": family, religious institution, military unit, or community.

In the third example we examine the life style parents desire for themselves. At one extreme are those parents who imposed restrictions on themselves in order to have children and who look forward to personal fulfillment once they can finally shed the burdens of parenting. In contrast are the parents who have always expected that a younger generation, grateful and dutiful, will provide them with emotional and financial support in their declining years.

Disastrous Events: The bedrock of parenting has always been the protection of the young. Those of us who know wildlife are aware of the danger that threatens anyone who tampers with young animals or birds when they are being guarded by their mothers. When children are little, most of us see to it that they are immunized, well fed, and protected against molesters. However, once children reach their teen years, the principal source of fatalities and physical injury is the

behavior of the young people themselves. They run risks which expose them to death, injury or blighted careers. The existence of such threatening circumstances typically comes to attention in sudden crises. From the standpoint of the parents this too often takes the form of a call from police or hospital -- the son or daughter has been arrested or has been the victim of a collision, an overdose, an attempted suicide, a sports mishap. Then there is the daughter who announces she is pregnant, or the youngster who quits school.

The likelihood of such sudden turns of event makes it hazardous to work with teenagers. As one experienced psychiatrist explained when giving up the practice of adolescent psychiatry, "It is too little, too late." Events have produced consequences which cannot be reversed.

Of all the death-threatening possibilities, statistically the most common is the fatal automobile crash in which one or both cars was driven by a youth who had had too much to drink. In the majority of cases, the parents are aware of both the drinking and the driving habits of their offspring. Indeed, at an earlier date they may have come to their child's defense when authorities threatened to suspend a driving license or when a court appearance could have produced a jail sentence.

If, as is the purpose here, it is useful to examine the situation producing greatest stress on parenting, it may be necessary to look at the many instances which seem to one parent as a replay of marital quarrels with a spouse who also has a drinking problem. In all too many cases the marriage relationship has been eroded by ineffectual nagging; now, under frighteningly similar circumstances, the same thing is happening to the parent-child relationship. After each critical episode, the parent vehemently upbraids the young person; the young person time and again gives reassurances, only to resume secretively the drinking and driving he or she has pledged to end.

Is there any solution to such a heartrendingly vicious spiral? Even when the parent-child relationship has been cemented by earlier shared fun and mutual admiration, can it withstand the corrosive effects of futility and tragically uncontrolled behavior? That question is haunting literally tens of thousands of families at this very moment.

There is evidence that this now-classic tragedy can be prevented. There seem to be two possibilities. One, used by such self-help organizations as Al-Anon, is for the parent to redefine his or her own role toward alcohol and toward the bedeviled other members of the family. This requires supportive sharing of experiences and, with that assistance, a new perspective on the welter of emotions troubling the parent.

The other possibility, especially available in communities where traffic courts have taken responsibility for accident prevention, is some form of group program aimed at the drinking driver. The program is offered in addition to or as an alternative to punitive measures. The young person not only can but must see and be seen as the person

responsible for his or her own conduct and own future. This is very difficult for young people if the parent remains either heavy handed on the one hand or condoningly sympathetic on the other.

Whichever path is taken the effective outcome is similar: based on the young person's new role, the two generations can now go about the business of reinforcing each other by having some unadulterated good times and according each other respect once again.

Now, let us turn to a contrasting set of circumstances, in which the risks being taken by the young person reflect values held jointly by both generations. Here we have a range of possibilities. In many police and military families, there is a tradition of facing danger into which the sons and, now, the daughters are inducted. In other homes a sort of family identity resides in adventurous actions, such as sports, which provide spice for living. Families are united by the fun they have together and the risks they share.

There is special interest, for our purposes, in looking at those instances is which the younger generation takes the initiative in urging upon the older a course of action which is viewed as risky. An example of this was seen during the height of the civil rights protests in the 1960s when young black militants rallied hitherto cautious parents in support of their activities.

A more current development is occurring in families where daughters introduce ideas concerning assertiveness, which mothers may be hesitant to implement in their own homes. What data we have on the prevalence of domestic physical abuse, at all class levels, indicates that assertiveness can jeopardize the safety of mother, daughter or both. The mother's aspirations for her daughter may give her courage to brave the wrath of her spouse. Mother and daughter may become allies relying on each other for counsel, for invoking outside support, and for solace. The mother will not always accept for herself all that her daughters would like, but she will at least model a pattern that she has not previously contemplated except in fantasy. (She accepts the burden of providing a combination of modeling and of encouragement.) If her daughters on their own choose occupational and sexual paths frowned upon by her husband and his friends, her girls expect her to act as their advocate. In doing so she may accept more peril than they anticipate. When any of us wants our teenage children to face life with courage, the vehicle of effective parenting may be demonstration beyond verbalism.

Independence: For some time it has been fashionable to consider the attainment of independence as the principal developmental task of adolescence. Schneiders (1951), for instance, considered independence the most significant accomplishment of the period.

> Independence, on the other hand, would seem to stem from the circumstance that it is a sine qua non of successful living and complete adjustment. Man is by nature a unique individual, separate from any other thing in the universe. The crowning glory of individuality, however, is not merely

> separate existence; it is independence of thought, of feeling, and of action; and this would seem to be integral to human nature. (p. 120) (Emphasis in original.)

Concomitantly, the role of parents must be to let go.

One can view parenting as a series of steps taken by the older generation to create a new generation of rugged individualists. As though mounting a series of steps leading to a hilltop, children are taught the skills which will enable them to attain independence. Parents help them learn to walk, to use words, to go to school, to study by themselves, to develop skills for vocational success, and, finally, to live by themselves if necessary.

All this seems obvious; the goal is axiomatic. Why mention it at all? Only because, if we accept Erikson's schema, the next turning point in the life span involves choosing between isolation and intimacy. For which are we preparing our teenagers? For which should we be preparing them?

It is interesting to note that although Erikson foresees a new crisis for youth, Robert Coles, his biographer, believes that Erikson has truly caught the tone of the American drive for independence. Coles (1970) describes it eloquently:

> No wonder that mothers tried to make sense of all the stormy movement in American life, with its immigrants, migrants, emigres, refugees, cowboys, frontiersmen, and transplanted peasants hurrying to sweatshops and factories. In Erikson's words, "The post-revolutionary descendants of the Founding Fathers forced their women to be mothers and fathers while they continued to cultivate the role of free-born sons." To this day, even though the old-fashioned frontier is gone, Americans are brought up to look around, to move around. Mothers may "dominate" their children for a while, but eventually sons and daughters by the millions move on to other villages, cities or regions. Homes are bought, sold, left behind, and sought out in astonishing succession -- and not only by people who <u>have</u> to do so, but by those who <u>want</u> to move on, who have grown up expecting just that kind of freewheeling life -- up and doing, quick on the trigger, on the go, on one's toes and snappy. (pp. 144-145) (Emphasis in original.)

On second or third reading there is something disquieting about not only Cole's phrasing but the scene it portrays. Is the description an unalloyed encomium? Or, is there a tinge of sarcasm? Or, is it heavy-handed satire? The answer depends upon the viewpoint from which one reads it. If it is viewed from the perspective of a son or daughter happily conquering new territory in an office, a factory, or a laboratory, that is one thing. But if it is viewed by the mother, lonely except for a memento or two, would bitterness be inappropriate?

Recall again the scene situation of the divorced mother and her teenage daughter which opened this paper. What are the values which require expression? Should the young woman simply have asserted her independence and set forth on her own? The mother did want her to be independent. Are they worse off because the daughter faltered? Should we even phrase it that way?

Many families in this situation will steer a middle course, but for the sake of contrast in arguments let us outline the nature of parenting at the extremes, which can and do exist.

Those of us who give priority to independence will encourage our youngsters to spend time away from us. Of course we will give them opportunities to tell us about their doings, but we will try not to pry. We will arrange our affairs with an eye to letting them be on their own. We will more or less systematically teach them physical and social survival skills -- how to make meals, buy necessities, and entertain their peers. From an early age, we will see that they have money of their own and are making choices on their own.

If, by contrast, we see their futures as built around family ties, we will make many opportunities for enjoyable occasions involving ourselves and our relatives. We will model for them the exchange of favors which constitutes a kinship support system. When opportunity permits we will have reunions or parties where they can have fun with their cousins, we will enlist our children's skills in helping their grandparents, and we will encourage them to ask for help from aunts and uncles in finding part-time work or obtaining information on major purchases. When illness strikes in the extended family, we will insist that our children (once they are capable) carry out obligations to alleviate problems or give assistance. By precept and example, we will inculcate expectations of reciprocity and build a positive value for mutual dependence. There are, indeed, families where almost the totality of living consists of work, church, and family gatherings. For the adolescent there is added school and its social contacts, but it is expected that the adolescent will give primary loyalty to the family upon reaching adulthood.

Life Styles: What should be obvious from this discussion is that there can be no single formula which prescribes a single best pattern of parenting with teenagers. Either by accident or by design there is a multitude of patterns. These vary in the values they reflect, and in their validity for serving those values. In essence, parents have to ask themselves two questions: First, what do I want for myself and my offspring? Second, how valid are my efforts to attain these objectives?

For the older generation, the entrance of their sons and daughters into the teen years coincides with two major opportunities to build for themselves a mature life style. The first opportunity stems from the freedom that comes when the logistics of life no longer revolve around the care of children. There is more time to do what one wants and less need to be concerned about the effects of one's actions upon the child's well-being. The second opportunity sometimes comes disguised as a problem -- we can see the days coming when we will worry about our own security, when other people may have to do more for us than we

do for them. (For the many who are divorced or widowed, the time is now.) Will these other people be our children? Looming over all of us in this connection are the financial and social costs of the presently imperfect programs to deal with retirement, the increasing financial expense of catastrophic illiness, and the social problems of age-segregated living arrangements. We must also question the merit of the middle-age, singles scene.

When considering the parenting component of our society, we cannot go too far afield in limiting oncoming social problems. We can, however, make it clear that what takes place today between parents and their teenagers will have long-range effects on the lives of both generations. When we examine parenting of infants or children, we do so by primarily evaluating what its outcomes will be on the young people; often we attempt to forecast implications for their adulthood. When we look at parenting of teenagers, on the other hand, we must recognize that the relationships developed will have as significant an impact on the parents' future as on that of their offspring. What is done and the way it is done will affect the terms on which all of us will be living for many years. If we assume that the parental norm is a happy and stable couple moving to the peak of their careers, then this issue may seem remote. However, millions of American parents live alone except for children, work at fatiguing jobs or have dependent mates affected by physical or psychological impairments. For them and for others in varying degrees, the results of their parenting directly and immediately will influence their life styles.

This author would argue that it is growth-promoting for teenagers to have a voice in how they are reared. However, there is an even more demanding consideration: they have an inalienable right to be involved. Donne's oft-quoted observation that no man is an island applies here. Our teenagers are as much a part of the mainstream of humankind as are the adults. What affects us affects them as well as vice versa. To think and act as if that were optional is truly impossible. Let us then sit down and talk with each other, listen to each other, counsel each other, and apply the Golden Rule to each other.

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The Federal Role in Parenting*

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The notion that the federal government has or should have a role in parenting concerns many groups and individuals, among them parents, in a number of ways. Some want more federal involvement and support of families and parents; others want nothing from the government which might be perceived as invasion of privacy or interference with parental rights. Some advocate federal plans and laws pertaining to families modeled after those of western European countries; others advocate developing policies relating to families which reflect the American values of participation, privacy, choice and respect for family differences.

Federal legislation, policy and regulation have always affected families and parenting. What is new is a greater awareness of the interrelatedness and interdependency of laws and policies with families and parenting. In addition, there is an increased sensitivity to the needs of families as units, as distinct from an emphasis on the needs of individual family members reflected in the past tendency to remove children from their families whenever difficulties arose. Also new is the awareness that parents have rights, that they must be involved in decisions affecting their parenting role and that they should be involved in program service development and performance.

This paper will describe a number of ways the federal government is and has been involved in parenting. It will trace some of the nation's guiding principle and values as these have changed over the years or have persisted. Finally, it will explore a few current projects on family policies and will describe in some detail the pending Child Care Act which attempts to incorporate all that has been learned about the federal role in parenting as well as to meet pressing needs of parents. We will begin with a newspaper report on federally funded research.

Research and Protection of Subjects

The newspapers on Saturday, March 17, 1979, contained a report from a Federal Ethics Advisory Board concerning the study of human

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* Presented March 26, 1979.

**Endorsement by the Administration for Children, Youth and Families is not implied and should not be inferred. The name of the department has been changed to Health and Human Services.

life in the laboratory. The Board recommended that the government end a long moratorium on funding of any efforts to start human life in the laboratory. It also voted to advise the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare that both basic research and the actual creation of life in the form of embryos started in the laboratory are ethically acceptable, if the final goal is to produce children for husbands and wives who are otherwise unable to produce them.

This Federal Board, in effect, is making recommendations that may well determine if some adults can ever become parents. The Board is comprised of doctors, scientists, religious and ethical representatives and other citizens appointed by the Secretary of DHEW. It acts as a neutral, impartial body not controlled by researchers or federal agencies or groups with special interest in the issue. Congress, which had put a ban on fetal research in 1974 and removed it for some research in 1975, permitted DHEW to form the Board to determine what additional kinds of fetal research are permissible. How else should an issue as fundamental to future parents of the nation be handled?

The federal government is also involved in protecting parents and children in the conduct of research and in regulating the availability of information on parents and children. The federal government supports most of the research being conducted in the nation and has done so since the early 1960s. The amount of money devoted to research increased steadily until the past few years, when it leveled off. At first there was a laissez-faire attitude toward researchers which relied heavily on the ethics of the various professions to assure proper behavior in conducting research. But during the 1960s, when research money for education, biomedical and behavioral sciences made quantum leaps and much of the research in education and other behavioral sciences affected large numbers of citizens, the picture changed. Parent groups began to resist having their children or themselves used as research subjects. Much of their resentment concerned use of research data to place children in special classes, use of tests which seemed to mitigate against children from minority groups, and lack of confidentiality of information or protection of privacy. Advocacy groups for citizens also resisted much of the research being conducted. Law suits abounded and many have not yet been resolved.

The federal government responded to these concerns by acting as a mediator among the groups involved. The Privacy Act of 1974 and the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act, a section (438) of the Educational Amendments Act of 1974, were responses to the public complaints. A further response was the National Research Act (P.L. 93-348) also passed in 1974. The Privacy Acts and the Family Rights Act must be considered when conducting research, but the National Research Act is primarily concerned with the protection of parents and children in research under the caption, "subjects at risk".

The National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, established by the National Research Act, has provided leadership in stating policies and guidelines to assure the protection of research subjects. In many instances these policies and guidelines have become regulations. To date the Com-

mission's work has been primarily with DHEW, although evidence suggests that its responsibility will widen to include all federal executive departments. The two questions the Commission asks of DHEW components are these:

1. Does your component of DHEW or any elements thereof conduct or support any biomedical or behavioral research involving human subjects?

2. If such research is conducted or supported, what policies and procedures are enforced to assure the protection of human subjects?

These questions provided the basis for the May, 1974 regulations which included the requirement for local review boards.

The 1974 regulations require that a review committee or group be established in each institution submitting a proposal for federal funding of research. This committee or group, increasingly referred to as the Institutional Review Board (IRB), is responsible for reviewing proposals to be submitted to determine if there are "subjects at risk." Members of the IRB must interpret the definition of "subjects at risk" in order to make a decision. They cannot avoid doing so since each institution is required to address the problem. Each institution involved is required to fill out a form stating it has such a committee and must certify that each proposal has been reviewed and a decision made about whether research subjects are at risk. The review process is what is mandated by the regulations. However, in the July 21, 1978 regulations concerning children as research subjects, further guidelines are provided about what should be included in the review process. In the Summary section of the issuance are these guidelines:

> The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW) is proposing regulations to implement the recommendations on research involving children of the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research. Key provisions require that such research be carried out only if the research methods are appropriate, the investigators competent, the facilities adequate, and the research procedures designed to contribute vitally to generalizable knowledge. Risks must be minimized, and the research performed in connection with necessary diagnosis and treatment wherever possible. Adequate provisions must be made to obtain the assent of the child and the consent or permission of the parents or guardians whenever these are necessary.[1]

These 1978 regulations are still classified as Proposed Rules, which means comments can still be made by the public. However, the regulations have already benefited from public hearings and will probably require little change.

> modest because there is much that they do not know about the interaction of parents and children.
>
> The concept of parent education suggests that the entire family as a unit, rather than merely the child who attends school, is the primary client of public schools in America. Families and schools, according to this reasoning, should enter into a closer partnership of the rearing and education of children.[3]

Federal Activities and Parenting

Family Research: ACYF: ACYF is particulary supportive of family research which not only studies family styles and needs, but also seeks methods supporting families and helping them perform their parenting roles. ACYF postulates that professional services must be available as needed, but they should not substitute for the family or ignore the family in favor of individual members except under very special circumstances. Rather than relying on professionals to provide services and information, parents should be encouraged to form mutual support groups and to use available information to help them in their responsibilities.

In a special issue of Children Today (March-April, 1978) ACYF summarized its family research:

> In 1974 the Office of Child Development - now the Administration for Children, Youth and Families - began a 5 part research effort centering on the family as a focal point for research bearing on child development. During the first two phases of the effort, ACYF supported research projects which looked at child development within different types of families - among them, one-parent families, minority families, low-income families and families in which both parents work. Research projects also examined the interaction of families with community services, schools and other institutions. Television was studied both within the family system and as part of the institutional system.
>
> Now, in the third phase, ACYF is supporting pilot studies to test the kinds of changes in services and interventions needed to enhance child development and improve interaction between families and institutions. Full-scale demonstrations or promising programs will be supported in the next phase.
>
> Finally, the knowledge derived from these and other studies will be used to design new programs and policies to meet the needs of children and families and to provide guidance for existing ACYF programs.
>
> ACYF is also funding a series of projects which will look at ways to communicate scientific knowledge about child development to different types of families, examine the kinds

of information that families have and need on child development and its impact on childrearing, and study ways to make information on supportive services more accessible.

In addition, the Children's Bureau, ACYF, supports demonstration projects that are attempting to prevent foster placement of children by providing comprehensive services to families under stress. The use of social service contracts between agencies and families to improve case planning is being tested in other projects.

Demonstration projects that provide comprehensive services to abused and neglected children and their families, and research projects that are exploring factors contributing to child abuse and neglect and promising prevention and treatment techniques are supported by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect in the Children's Bureau.[4]

Parents as Educators: NIE: The National Institute of Education of DHEW held a Conference on Parents as Educators in November 1978, at the request of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Secretary required a review of the current state of knowledge with respect to research on and programs of parent education, and the direction that new programs and materials for parent education might take. The request coincided with the raising of somewhat broader questions at the National Institute of Education concerning the areas in which research on families as educators might be developed, with respect to both educational policy and the role of the family as a source of learning. Because of the necessary relationship between parents as educators and the familial and broader community context in which parental educational efforts occur, the conference necessarily focused on the broader question of the relationship between parents and the school. Throughout the discussion the Institute's concern with equity and the improvement of local educational practice were also considered.

The NIE conference included the presentation of formal papers, a systematic panel discussion of these papers, and finally an informal discussion among the conference participants and observers. The papers (in the order in which they were given) were 1) Steven Schlossman, "Family as Educator, Parent Education, and the Perennial Family Crisis" (discussed by Robert Hill and Luis Laosa); 2) Robert Boger, Richard Richter, Beatrice Paloucci, Sylvia Whitmer, "Parent as Teacher: Perspective of Function and Context" (discussed by Jacqueline Jackson and Barbara Finkelstein); 3) Beresford Hayward, "The Educational Role of the Family" (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development Research Proposal); 4) Carol Stack, "Parenting and Family Impact," (discussed by Evelyn Moore and Luis Laosa); 5) James P. Comer, "Relationships Between the School and the Family" (discussed by Laura Lein and Robert Hill); 6) Joan Bergstrom and Irving Lazar, "Curriculum Materials for the Family as Faculty" (discussed by Steven Hamilton and Noel Day).

In a synthesis and summary of the conference, Hope Leichter described the focus.

The participants in the NIE conference were all concerned with research on the family as educator, but they worked in a variety of institutional settings, including academic departments in universities, schools of education, and institutes and centers concerned with policy and programs related to the family, both within the United States and abroad. This diversity of professional position and experience, along with the diversity of personal backgrounds, represented a significant resource for the conference, indicating as it did the variety of locations in which serious concern with the family and familial education can be found.

The purpose of the conference was to consider our knowledge of parents, or, more broadly, families, as educators, with respect to the issue of what we know already about families as educators and what we need to know. The essential focus was thus on research questions concerning families as educators, but the discussants dealt with issues of both how families serve as teaching and learning environments and how research on families as educators is related to concerns about policy and programming.

The conference participants did not seek to make specific recommendations with respect to particular research projects, but rather to review the art and science of research on the family as a background from which the staff of NIE could develop more specific recommendations with respect to research goals and priorities.

Through the examination of the two agenda-setting volumes, the formal presentation of papers, the formal discussion of these papers, and the general discussion that followed, five topics emerged as issues that must be considered in appraising our understanding of families as educators:

1. the need for continual scrutiny of underlying professional assumptions about families as educators;

2. the domain of research on families as educators;

3. the theoretical and conceptual frameworks appropriate for research on families as educators;

4. the methodologies best suited to research on families as educators;

5. the relation of research to program and policy.[5]

Program Impact on Families: Head Start: The Secretary of DHEW requested information on how the Head Start program relates to and affects families. This 1978 request was responded to by the Administration for Children, Youth and Families in an analytical paper written by Dr. Ann O'Keefe, an ACYF staff member. The highlights of her

Executive Summary provide the salient information on the role of a Federal program in parenting.

"Head Start Is Building Families." Although this was the theme of a recent national Head Start Association conference, it might surprise many a "man on the street" who still views Head Start at best solely as a preschool educational program for poor children. However, the fact is that the Head Start program was conceived and implemented from its earliest moments as a broad comprehensive program which, while providing educational, health and social services to low income children, would do so in the context of the child's family and would emphasize parent involvement and participation in all aspects of the program. Parents have always had a key role in Head Start, and Head Start has served and worked with parents and families of enrolled children from the very beginning.

The Cooke memo of 1965, which outlined the philosophical foundation of Head Start, directed attention to the child within the context of the family and community. Indeed, one of the memo's recommendations was that parents participate in Head Start by planning programs, participating in parent education programs, participating in their children's classrooms, serving as a link between children, staff and neighborhood, and filling appropriate job roles in the program. This emphasis on parent involvement was based on the evidence at hand which in recent years has been even further supported--that the greater the parent involvement, the greater the benefits that accrue to the children themselves.

In 1972, a giant programmatic step was taken with the issuance of the Head Start Program Performance Standards. All of the program component areas outlined in the Standards--education, health, social services and, of course, parent involvement--address the role of Head Start parents. Thus, program objectives related to parents and families permeate the entire Head Start program.

There is considerable evidence showing how Head Start is actively involving parents, families and communities, as mandated by the program requirements (although much more needs to be learned about the "invisible" kinds of involvement that may be meaningful to individual parents and families). Parents are an integral part of the decision-making process and comprise a majority of each local Head Start policy council. They are part of the staff hiring (and firing) process, the program self-assessment teams, and the program-planning process--to name only a few of the general areas of parent participation in the decisions which affect the operation of their local Head Start program.

> Parents are also offered innumerable opportunities within Head Start to strengthen and further develop their understanding and skill as parents. These opportunities include conferences with Head Start staff, parent meetings and discussion groups, suggestions on how to capitalize on the home as a learning environment and how to follow up at home on the activities which are begun at the center.[6]

Head Start has developed and supported a number of programs which give primary emphasis to activities supportive of parents in their parenting roles. Two of these are Home Start and the Child and Family Resource Program (CFRP). O'Keefe summarizes their impact on parenting.

> The 16-program Home Start demonstration was funded for 3½ years (1972-1975) to evaluate the feasibility of providing comprehensive Head Start services through a Home Visitor. Home Visitors were trained to work with parents in their own homes, to help them do with and provide for their own children the same kinds of activities, experiences and services provided in center-based programs.
>
> The Home Start evaluation provided clear evidence of the feasibility of the Home Start approach and showed that the outcomes for children and parents were comparable to the outcomes obtained by participants in Head Start center-based programs.
>
> Currently the Home Start approach is available throughout the Head Start program via the "home-based option" and about 400 Head Start programs are serving a total of about 20,000 children through such a program option. (Virtually all children in a home-based option have a regular group experience, usually weekly, in additon to their regular home visits.)
>
> The Home Start demonstration program and the current home-based options provide perhaps the best evidence of the general feasibility of intensive parent-participatory programs within the Head Start context.
>
> The Child and Family Resource Program (CFRP) was launched in 1973 in 11 diverse locations and is scheduled to continue through 1984. It is a family service/support program with emphasis on promoting the healthy growth and development of the young children in the family, from the prenatal stage through third grade.
>
> One of the key elements of the CFRP is the family assessment, which results in a Family Action Plan laying out specific services and supports needed by the family as a whole (as well as by individual family members).

> The backbone of the CFRP staff is the family advocate who, working closely with his/her families, makes sure that appropriate services are provided to families on a continuing basis, as old needs are met and new ones emerge.
>
> There is considerable evidence that CFRP is having a favorable, constructive impact on community resource/service agencies. There is also evidence of strengthening in overall family functioning with regard to home environment, safety, health care and housing.[7]

Historical Involvement of the Federal Government

The federal government has been involved with parenting in one form or another since the formation of the nation. Rural families received, and continue to receive information and services concerning parenting through the Agriculture Extension Programs. These programs, combining as they do federal, state and county support and involvement, include home visiting, parent education, crisis service and opportunities for future homemakers and parents. The Preventive Services sponsored by the federal government have included prevention of child abuse and neglect, prevention of parents' exploiting their children for labor, and prevention of social agencies' breaking up families by removing children when it is not absolutely necessary to do so. Maternal and child health services have been available for more than 50 years as have other family support services.

In reviewing the child welfare policies of the nation over a 200 year period, Lois-ellin Datta, a staff member of NIE, succinctly summarized the changes as follows:

> Child welfare policies have changed, obviously, in the past two hundred years. They have expanded, contracted, and re-defined the population served along five dimensions:
>
> focus: public concern began with the food, shelter, clothing and education of orphaned, destitute, indigent children (economic problems). It has expanded to include the psychological welfare of poor children as well as the emotional health and safety of children whose parents have enough money to provide for their physical needs,
>
> responsibility: paying for child welfare has expanded from mostly parish, private citizen, charity organization, or municipal monies to a larger proportion of funds from state and federal governments,
>
> strategy: approaches have expanded from direct action on or with the individual child such as indenture or placement in orphanages to indirect and preventive action such as income maintenance and parent education programs,

tactics: the approaches have shifted (not expanded) from punishment of mothers bearing illegitimate children and removal of poor children from their families to income maintenance. A cushion of public funds helps many poor but otherwise competent families care for their children. Public policy includes an emphasis on strengthening the family's ability to care for children in their own homes and integrating children with special needs into the community,

oversight: accountability has changed from primarily oversight by parish, private citizen, charity organization, and municipal committees to establishment of national and state standards for child welfare services, and development of professional organizations concerned with expansion and quality of child welfare. Unchanged, however, is the role of individuals whose eloquence and evidence catalyze public reform on behalf of children.[8]

Public Policy and Parenting

The federal government formulates many policies which, while not necessarily addressing the family directly, have an impact on families and their parenting role. These policies include tax benefits for child care costs, ability to use public funds to pay relatives for child care, inclusion of men as qualifying for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, assistance in locating services and resources, and provision of educational services to handicapped children and their parents. Policies on foster care and adoption, services to teenaged pregnant girls and teenaged parents, and even interest rates for building loans affect families and parenting. Of increasing interest are questions of how other federal policies affect families, how policies are formed, and what family policies are needed to promote parenting.

ACYF is addressing these policy issues in a number of ways. One involves supporting a project at the National Academy of Science which is studying how policies affecting families are made. The hope is to identify critical decision points and times at which input of information or data would be useful. Another is a project with the Family Impact Seminar which is examining the impact of various policies on families in a number of states. From this, analysts hope to identify some useful instruments which would help states assess the impact of federal, state and local policies on families. A third project, conducted by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is attempting to formulate a framework for policies which affect families by involving parents in discussions across the country.

In this third project, the technique being used to involve parents in policy discussions is the distribution of "Issue Packets", which are intended to familiarize parents and others with the issues to be discussed. With support from the Administration for Children, Youth and Families, the project staff developed a set of ten Issue Packets[9], each

addressing a topic that is both important to parents and relevant to policy. The range of topics includes TV Advertising and Parental Authority, Preparing Children for Family Life, Violence in the Family, Stresses in Marriage and Family Life, and Child Care for Working Parents. Using one of these packets -Preparing Children for Family Life - as an illustration one can see how parents might become involved in helping to shape policies relating to families.

The Issue Packet first presents some background information about changing family responsibilities, size, structure and relationships. Second it offers information on what schools have historically done to educate children for family life. School programs include high school home economics courses, Education for Parenthood projects supported by ACYF, and Head Start and infant stimulation programs. The discussion then addresses the question: What needs to be considered in developing a family life education program? Finally, the major issues for discussion are presented. These are: 1) Responsibility; 2) At what age should family life education be taught? and 3) How should information on parenthood and family life be presented? The specific choices which may be considered in discussion are presented under each issue.

Each PTA Unit which chooses this packet to discuss at meetings is asked to fill out a prepared form which, in effect, provides a voting record of the choices made around the three isues identified. This information is sent to PTA national headquarters where analyses are made. The results are used to determine the wishes and views of parents so that they can be reflected in policies.

Pending Legislation Affecting Parenting

One final example of the federal role in parenting is in the Child Care Act of 1979. The bill (S4), introduced into the 96th Congress in January, is being discussed in the Human Resources Subcommittee on Child and Human Development of the Senate, chaired by Senator Alan Cranston of California. The bill intends to respond to current needs of working parents and attempts to draw on all the past knowledge and experience accrued in the nation to assure state, local and parent involvement in carrying out the Act. The general purposes of the bill are:

(1) to provide assistance to States in improving the quality of and coordination among child-care programs and provide additional resources for child-care services;

(2) to provide mechanisms for assessing the extent of the need for child-care services in the Nation;

(3) to promote coordination at all governmental levels of child-care programs and other services for children and their families;

(4) to promote the availability and diversity of quality child-care services for all children and families who need such services;

(5) to provide assistance to families whose financial resources are insufficient to pay the full cost of necessary child-care services; and

(6) to strengthen the functioning of families by seeking to assure that parents are not forced by lack of available programs or financial resources to place a child in an undesirable care facility or arrangement. (Child Care Act of 1979, pp. 3-4.)

Specifically, the bill provides financial aid to states to establish child care information and referral services, training facilities for child-care personnel, and procedures for state licensing of child care facilities. It gives authority to the Secretary of HEW to "make grants to and enter into contracts with public agencies and private organizations to support innovative, demonstration child-care projects," such as nighttime care and care for sick children, migrant children and handicapped children. It requires the Secretary to review and evaluate such projects and other activities of the Act and to conduct studies of child-care needs.

Among other provisions, it requires the establishment of state and national advisory panels on child care needs and services. In order to promote "meaningful" parental involvement in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of child care services, each panel must be comprised of at least 25% parents of children receiving child-care services under the Act.

The bill authorizes appropriation of funds deemed "necessary" for fiscal 1980 and each of the following four fiscal years. Of these funds, 75% would be allocated to providers for operating day care programs and up to 10% could be used for administrative purposes. Funds are mandated to be used to supplement and not supplant existing Federal funds "used for the support of child-care services and related programs."

An excellent summary of what the bill's policies would do was made in the January 29, 1979, issue of Day Care and Child Development Reports[10]. The article includes an awareness of all the concerns which have been expressed over the years about a child care program and highlights how the Child Care Act addresses them.*

Summary and Concluding Statement

The federal government has played and will continue to play a role in parenting. This is inevitable, as the government provides family services to citizens directly or through state and local agencies. The services inevitably address problems of parenting because of the major role the family plays in child rearing. When the family is under great stress, outside help is needed and public moneys are used to provide this help.

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*Note: The bill was not passed.

Research and demonstration programs generate new knowledge and models for the benefit of public and private service providers. The development of parenting education materials has been supported by the federal government as have a variety of procedures for helping parents meet, share experiences, and address their common problems in child rearing. The government must have standards not only to ensure quality in services but also to protect human subjects in research. This protection includes informed parental consent and informed child assent to participate in research.

No level of government has the right to tell parents how to rear their children, but the government can make a variety of information and services available to parents so that they are able to select what is most consistent with their values and goals. The government must examine its policies to determine what it is doing to support or weaken families and must be certain to respect the family as the basic and primary institution in which child rearing occurs. In this International Year of the Child (1979), we must all become more sensitive to the needs of children and their families and provide the necessary help and supports for effective parenting.

Footnotes

1. Federal Register: Proposed Rules Concerning Children as Research Subjects, Summary Section. July 21, 1978.

2. Education Commission of the States, Families and Schools: Implementing Parent Education. Report No. 121 (ED 165 900, 54 pp.), pp. xii-xiii, January, 1979.

3. Ibid., pp. xii-xiii.

4. Grotberg, Edith H. ACYF Family Research. Children Today, March-April 1978, p. 9.

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6. O'Keefe, Ann. What Head Start Means to Families. Administration for Children, Youth and Families, DHEW, 1978 (ED 161 525, 72 pp.), pp. iii-iv.

7. Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

8. Watchman, Lois-ellin Datta. How Is It With the Child? Some Aspects of Child Welfare Policy from 1776-1976. In Edith H. Grotberg (editor), 200 Years of Children (ED 136 948, 490 pp.), pp. 221-283, 1977.

9. Parent and Teachers Association and Cornell University College of Human Ecology, Preparing Children for Family Life. Issue Packet No. 8, 1978.

10. Day Care and Child Development Reports. Volume 8, Number 2, January 29, 1979, pp. 7-9.

On Being A Parent*

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Being a parent in our society is a difficult and often anxiety-producing job. The parent who is confronted with a tiny, helpless newborn is struck with the awesome responsibilities of helping the child evolve from a dependent, immature and unsocialized infant into an independent, intellectually sophisticated and socially competent human being. The conscientious mother and father are, without question, the most important agents in determining the specific course of their child's growth and development.

The job of parenting is a demanding one that requires considerable attention, knowledge, selflessness and patience. One must work at it consciously and continually, and one must be prepared for the anxieties and doubts which arise when confronted with the question, "Am I a good parent?" The more one wants to be a good parent the more anxious one becomes. Although a certain amount of anxiety is normal and understandable, many parents today tend to be too anxious, and this anxiety has detrimental effects upon the parents themselves, upon their children and upon the parent-child relationship.

Some of this overanxiety can be attributed to the fact that many parents are not as well equipped for parenthood as parents have been in the past. Parents of today often do not have the support for parenting that was once generally available. The extended family is rare in contemporary society, and with its demise the new parent lost the wisdom and daily support of older family members. The increased mobility and new housing patterns of American families have all too often deprived the family of a variety of community activities that supported parenting and family life. Furthermore, as child development experts Myrtle McGraw and Urie Bronfenbrenner have been pointing out for many years, our society has become divided along age lines. Grandparents live far from their grandchildren, children form peer groups early, and older children have greatly reduced responsibilities in caring for the young. Indeed, the generally diminished interaction between adults and children in our society led participants at the 1970 White House Conference on Children to raise the basic issue of how children might be reintroduced into the world of adults.

As a result of these developments, most new parents tend to lack knowledge about how children grow and develop. Moreover, they rarely have immediately at hand loving and experienced adults to assist them through their apprenticeship. Faced with such a state of affairs, parents turn in ever greater numbers to the counsel of distant experts

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* Presented March 31, 1980.

whose directives are often contradictory and confusing. The lack of knowledge and needed advice has resulted in a situation in which many parents misunderstand the real strengths and needs of both their children and themselves. For example, many parents view their young child as more fragile than he or she really is. These parents have convinced themselves that one misstep in child-rearing will result in horrible, lifelong consequences. For such parents, it would be reassuring to learn what experienced grandparents know intuitively: that even the very young child is a relatively tough, active human being with a personal capacity for growth that almost guarantees a normal course of development, provided that the child is protected from physical harm and is given the love and care of ordinary, devoted parents.

As a result of their isolation and worries, too many parents experience the obligations of child-rearing without the pleasures. In many homes, both parents and children walk about as if on eggshells. The parent-child relationship is characterized by apprehension, joylessness and the pursuit of questionable goals. This state of affairs is in large part an outgrowth of the reliance by parents on the advice of people who claim special scientific expertise about child development.

Parental attitude and child-rearing practices have always tended to follow the thinking of child development experts. Yet developmental psychology is like any other science. At any time, there are differences in opinion, changing viewpoints, and a mixture of sense and nonsense about the practical implications of any laboratory evidence. The parent who is neither familiar with the thousands of studies of child development nor trained in scientific inquiry can easily be steamrollered into believing a point of view which may turn out to be little more than a passing fad. This is usually exacerbated by journalists who rush to tell parents how to improve their children's well-being, generally basing their information on the latest sensational finding from this or that child development laboratory. What parents do not realize is that much of the so-called information about children presented in the popular press is often no more than the writer's interpretation of a tentative hypothesis, a scientist's value judgment, or an unverified hunch. It is our belief that a large part of the current overanxiety of parents stems from just such fads and opinions based on tentative and incomplete views of the developing child.

Although psychologists and other scientists have far to go before arriving at a complete understanding of how a child develops, one of the most significant advances toward this goal is currently being made in the field of child development. From many laboratories in the U.S. and around the world, numerous research findings are converging upon a more comprehensive view of child development. What seems to be emerging is a recognition that the number of factors responsible for a child's growth is much greater than was formerly believed. In addition to the significance of the mother, the importance of the father and of the whole environment--from the influences of schools and television to the availability of medical care and part-time jobs--is being demonstrated. Moreover, studies are finding that the child may play an active role in its own development. Thus, according to the new research findings, a child's development is affected not merely by the

mother, or both mother and father, but by a host of other factors over which parents may or may not have control. These new findings should change a number of ideas that experts and parents have held in the past about child rearing practices.

One of the most long-standing limitations in our thinking about child development has been the notion that the mother is the exclusive agent in determining the child's behavior and psychological adjustment. This notion has been promoted and supported by various schools of thought in psychology. Freud and other psychoanalytic thinkers have exalted the influence of the mother by blaming her for children's neuroses. John Watson, the father of modern behaviorism, claimed that by applying the proper conditioning principles mothers could train a child to become whatever the parents wished--doctor, lawyer, merchant, or artist. And John Bowlby, taking an evolutionary perspective, believed that "a warm, intimate and continuous relationship" with the mother was an essential ingredient for producing mental health in children.

Although the mother's influence cannot be overestimated, psychologists are now discovering that the father also figures prominently in his child's development. Of course, the father has long been recognized as a biological and economic necessity to his children, but until recently his psychological influence was not very much appreciated. Currently, however, psychologists are discovering the significant impact that a father does have on his child. One of the most interesting findings is that young infants develop attachment bonds to their fathers as well as to their mothers. The infant's attachment to the father begins to develop at around the same time in the middle of the first year as its attachment to the mother, even though in the typical American family the father plays no major role in the care of his infant and interacts with the infant no more than an average of ten hours a week. There is, however, a difference in the child's attachment to its mother and father. Michael Lamb (1976) found that generally children show no preference between mother and father but in stressful situations they usually, though not always, prefer their mothers when both parents are available.

The father is not merely a potential substitute mother for times when the mother is looking after chores or is otherwise not available, but contributes qualitatively different experiences to the child. When Michael Lamb (1977) observed both mothers and fathers interacting with their 7- to 13-month-old infants, he found that the two parents played with their babies in different ways and held them for different reasons. Mothers more often played conventional games such as peek-a-boo and pat-a-cake while fathers were more likely to play vigorous, physically stimulating or unpredictable types of games. Mothers held their babies most often for caretaking purposes--to feed or diaper them, and for restricting their exploration. But fathers were more likely to hold their babies just to play with them or to satisfy the babies' desire to be held. By providing their children with different kinds of experiences than mothers do, fathers may actually broaden the scope of their children's social and intellectual competence.

Another difference between mothers' and fathers' behavior toward their children can be seen in the second year. Unlike mothers, fathers begin to treat the sexes differently. They pay special attention to sons but seem to withdraw from daughters (Lamb, 1979). As a result, children--particularly boys--develop a preference for the same-sex parent. This behavior on the part of the father may contribute to the development of the child's gender identity. Other research has shown that boys may become deficient in their sex role adjustment when their fathers are absent during infancy (Biller, 1974).

As children grow older, fathers continue to contribute to sex-role development. For example, fathers who are highly nurturant enhance masculinity in sons and femininity in daughers (Lynn, 1976). Girls with absent fathers may not develop an adequate female role and as adolescents may have difficulties in their relationships with men (Hetherington, 1972). Fathers also contribute to their children's social and moral development, cognitive functioning, and achievement motivation.

The father's personality and behavior are as important as the mother's to the overall adjustment of the child. This fact was clearly established by a study which compared the behavior of parents whose children were well-adjusted with those whose children had adjustment difficulties (Peterson, Becker, Hellmer, Shoemaker, & Quay, 1959). The investigators were surprised to discover that both mothers and fathers of children with adjustment problems were themselves less well adjusted, less friendly, and less democratic than parents of the well-adjusted children. The maladjusted children who were very aggressive tended to have weak and ineffectual fathers, whereas children who were shy and had feelings of inferiority tended to have fathers who were dictatorial and unconcerned about their children.

Fathers may also be helpful by compensating for the limitations of the mother. Sally Bloom-Feshbach, Jonathan Bloom-Feshbach and Jane Gaughran (1980) studied how 3-year-old children of parents with different child rearing styles adjusted to being separated from their parents at nursery school. These investigators found that when both parents were not very nurturant and were either very strict or very lax in controlling the child, the child had a difficult adjustment to nursery school. When either mother or father was nurturant and firm in child-rearing style however, the child's adjustment was much easier.

In addition to having a direct impact on the child, the father also has an indirect influence on the child through his relationship with his wife. Marital strife can be very damaging to children. In fact, living in a house where parents are in discord may be more damaging to a child than living simply with one parent (Longfellow, 1979). Studies have shown, for example, that the quality of the marital relationship affects how a mother feeds the child. A mother is more effective in feeding a baby when the father is supportive of the mother and is less effective when there is tension and conflict in the marriage (Pederson, 1976). Parents who are critical of each other also express more negative feelings to their children (Pederson, Anderson, & Cain, in press).

When a father is involved in child care, the mother's burden is reduced and the quality of her child care improves dramatically. A mother who is less burdened by tasks for her children is also more available as a wife. Research has shown that marital satisfaction is greater among husbands and wives who share many activities together. Typically, however, when a child is born marital satisfaction decreases because the mother becomes much more involved in child care and participates less in activities with her husband. But when a father shares in child care, it can become another activity for husband and wife to enjoy together and thus enhance rather than reduce happiness between them. This has indeed been found to be true in a study of first-time fathers by Jonathan Bloom-Feshbach (1979). In this study, fathers who became involved with their child reported that their marriages were improved by the birth of the child whereas fathers who did not participate as much in their child's care felt that the birth of the child had detracted from the marriage.

We thus see how important the father is to the optimal development of his children. The father who is available to his children, who is warm, sensitive, and responsive to them, benefits them emotionally, intellectually, and socially. The research also demonstrates that the father helps his children not only directly but indirectly through his effect on the mother. A father who is supportive of the mother and participates in child care helps to improve her caretaking qualities since she will feel less overwhelmed by all the tasks that need to be accomplished for the child. And finally, a father who shares in child care with the mother enhances the quality of his marriage, which in turn affects the quality of child care that both parents provide the child.

The new findings showing the importance of the father are a needed corrective to the notion that the mother bears sole responsibility for the child's development. Another body of evidence which lightens mothers' burden, as well as fathers', is that which disputes the idea that the child begins life as a formless mass which parents shape to their own specifications. This idea gained popularity from John Watson and his disciples in American psychology. According to Watson, a child's mind is a tabula rasa or blank slate on which parents, by providing the right kind of experiences, write everything that the child is to become. In this climate of thought, it is no wonder that parents have taken seriously the messages coming from popular writings that they can give their children a superior mind, that children should be taught to read at the age of two, or that IQs can be raised dramatically if only the child is engaged in this or that regimen. Supporters of this environmental mystique have relied heavily on Joseph McVicker Hunt's book, Intelligence and Experience. This book has become the credo, almost the Bible of the environmental mystique. Dr. Hunt's book is a healthy, speculative, theoretical treatise, but the implications as they have been spelled out to the layperson are not so healthy. A number of years ago, Reader's Digest published an interview with Dr. Hunt. The article, in question and answer format, was heralded by a flier attached to the cover that read provocatively, "How to Raise Your Child's IQ by 20 Points."

The findings of an early compensatory program in New York City were reported in the New York press as having resulted in one point of IQ increase for every month the child had spent in the program. If IQs could indeed be increased this mechanically, one wonders why all parents would not immediately avail themselves of 30 or 40 months of such treatment for their children. In articles appearing in Harper's and the New York Times Magazine section, we were informed that the intelligence levels of poor children would be raised by subjecting them to an intellectually demanding "pressure-cooker" form of education during the preschool years. An issue of Life Magazine carried a feature article reporting the work of a group of Harvard-MIT scientists on the effects of infant stimulation. Cited was the finding that putting mobiles and other moving objects over cribs of young infants caused them to do better on certain developmental tasks than infants who were not exposed to these objects. What was not pointed out was that there was no relationship between the developmental abilities measured and later intelligence. Shortly after this article appeared, a mobile (properly endorsed by one of these scientists) became available commercially. As a result, we now frequently encounter what may be called the "mobile syndrome." Some mothers are so anxiety-laden about not having placed mobiles over their infants' cribs that they wonder what they can do to rectify the tragic error now that their children are 17 or 18.

What must be honestly told to parents is that there is no short-term intervention, no gadget, no gimmick, that clearly results in an elevated IQ at maturity. However, this fact has not deterred the suppliers of books and educational materials from inundating parents with their wares. Books on teaching children to read at the age of two are a case in point. Given all the developmental tasks that two-year-olds must master to develop into competent human beings, one would wonder why parents would want to waste their children's time by having them perform what amounts to little more than intellectual tricks. We can only surmise that such activities usually have much more to do with the egos of parents than with the ego development of their children.

Parents of young children, who have been hearing so much about how malleable their children's minds are, are seen by industry as a ready market for educational toys. Where once mothers and fathers went to toy stores in the hopes of obtaining an object that their child would enjoy, they are now more interested in "toys that teach." Some of these toys are indeed constructed on the basis of sound pscyhological and pedagogical theorizing and research, but many of them are pure junk.

Throughout this period there have been, of course, persons with the good sense to insist that almost any toy could teach if parents took the trouble to use it to arouse the child's curiosity and interest, and if they made playtime an occasion for social interaction between parent and child. Some specialists even had the temerity to state, wisely in our opinion, that the cognitive development of very young children has less to do with a formal learning intervention than with the natural exchange between children and their physical and social environments. Young children can learn more by playing with pots and pans, especially if

their parents play along with them, than with the rather expensvie toys parents buy in the hope of raising their children's IQs.

Given our nation's love of gadgetry, one could look upon the parents' search for books and toys which promise instant genius with some amusement, except for the dire consequences it has had upon children and family life. Over-emphasis on training the mind has led to a distorted view of parental tasks. The parent's job has come to be viewed as little more than programming a computer. In the process, we have lost sight of the child as a whole person with a unique personality, abilities, and needs. Today, parents must relearn that their goal should be to help their children achieve optimal development in all spheres--social, emotional, as well as intellectual.

Parents must also be helped to recognize that their child's development is not entirely in their own hands to shape, but that the child is endowed by nature with individuality and unique potential. One can provide a child with experiences conducive to his or her full intellectual growth. But parents must be clearly aware that there are individual differences between children, even between children in the same family, and that the impact of a child's experiences is determined in large part by the child's own nature. After acknowledging this, we should not jump from such an obvious truth to talking about inferiority or superiority. Children differ in all their abilities, and these differences are part of the human condition.

Anyone who observes newborns in a nursery notices immediately how much the babies differ from one another. Some cry a great deal, others cry very little; some are always moving around, others appear calmer; some have regular rhythms of sleep and wakefulness while others do not appear to have any regular patterns in these behaviors. These characteristics and some others make up what is known as the child's temperament. The child's temperament stabilizes by about four months of age and remains relatively constant throughout development. It is very important for parents to recognize, therefore, that they have very little control over the development of a number of traits of their children. These traits have been identified by Professors Alexander Thomas, Stella Chess, and Herbert Birch (1968) as the child's general activity level, the regularity of biological functions, mood, desire to approach or withdraw from new situations, attention span, persistence and distractability, sensitivity to sensory stimuli, and intensity of response to objects and events.

Thomas, Chess, and Birch traced the development of a group of individuals from infancy through adolescence. They identified three types of temperament in children, although many babies were not a pure type. The majority were identified as "easy" children. They had a pleasant mood, were regular in hunger, sleep and excretion patterns, tended to approach new objects and persons, and generally had low or moderate intensity of response. In the second category were "slow to warm up" children. These children had a slightly negative mood, were somewhat variable in biological rhythms, were wary of new situations, and had a low intensity of response. The investigators found that about one in 10 babies could be placed in the third category, labeled

difficult children. These children tended to cry often and quite loudly, seemed to be generally unhappy, were irregular in feeding and sleeping, and were slow to accept new foods or routines.

The fact that children are born with different temperaments has important implications for child development and child rearing. First, what should be reassuring to parents is that behavior patterns once thought to be the outcome of poor child rearing practices may actually be constitutional characteristics of the child. Thomas, Chess, and Birch (1968, p. 191) explain it this way:

> A child who stands at the periphery of the group in nursery school may be anxious and insecure, but he may also be expressing his normal temperamental tendency to warm up slowly. An infant with irregular sleep cycles who cries loudly at night may possibly be responding to a hostile, rejecting mother, but he may also be expressing his temperamental irregularity. A six-year-old who explodes with anger at his teacher's commands may be aggressive and oppositional, but he may also be showing the frustration reactions of a very persistent child when he is asked to terminate an activity in which he is deeply absorbed. A mother's guilt and anxiety may be the result of a deep-seated neurosis, but they may also be the result of her problems and confusion in handling an infant with a temperamental pattern [of] a very difficult child.

Although parents may not be responsible for their children's difficult temperaments, their reactions to their children's temperaments may have important consequences on many areas of development. Just as a parent's behavior influences that of the child, a child's behavior influences that of the parent. Children are not simply passive objects, receptacles of all that parents wish to put into them. Rather, children actively influence the kinds of behavior the parents transmit to the child. The notion of reciprocal interactions between parent and child, which is currently being examined by Richard Q. Bell (1979) and others, should sensitize parents to the importance of recognizing how their children affect their behavior. It is possible that difficult children may arouse negative responses in parents which may in turn have detrimental effects on the children's psychological development. An example of how this may occur was described by Arnold Sameroff (1977) from his study of interactions of a group of children and their mothers. He found that children judged as difficult at 4 months of age had the lowest intelligence test scores at 30 months. When he observed the interactions of the mothers and their children at 12 months of age, Sameroff found that mothers of difficult children tended to stay away from them more and to look at, stimulate, and play with them less than did mothers of other children. In contrast, children whose mothers spent a great deal of time socializing with them had higher intelligence test scores at 30 months of age. Sameroff suggests that children's difficult behavior may "turn off" their mothers to interacting with them. If this happens, the mother's lack of attention may result in decreased intellectual competence in the child later on.

Since children's behavior can affect parents' behavior, parents must be especially careful not to allow their own behavior to become as negative as that of their children. Otherwise a vicious circle of bad child behavior and bad parent behavior may develop which can lead to maladjustment in children and a frustrating, tension-filled existence for parents. Thomas, Chess, and Birch (1968) predicted that difficult children would need psychiatric treatment later in life. They found, however, that only those difficult children whose parents had been unable to adapt to their children's temperaments and indivdual needs later required clinical help.

Thus an important principle for parents to remember is that child rearing practices should be adjusted to each child's temperament. All children cannot be treated alike. By recognizing and understanding a child's individual temperament, however, parents may be better able to guide the growth of their children. For example, parents who have slow to warm up children should not pressure them to accept and adjust to new situations quickly, for this may only strengthen their fears and tendency to withdraw. Parents can help these children to anticipate their fears and reassure them that they will be able to adapt to new objects and events. Otherwise, a slow to warm up child may turn out like a boy named Bobby (Segal & Yahraes, 1978). Whenever Bobby rejected new food, his parents never gave it to him again; because he shied away from the kids at the playground, they kept him at home. At the age of 10, Bobby had no friends and ate only hamburgers, applesauce, and medium-boiled eggs! In contrast, the parents of a difficult boy named Carl (Chess & Thomas, 1977) learned to anticipate their son's frequently stormy responses to new experiences and to be patient with his tantrums without giving in to his demands. They encouraged and reassured Carl and modified their own expectations and behavior in accordance with their child's temperament. As a result, Carl never developed a serious behavior disorder.

Once parents and the rest of society begin to appreciate the uniqueness of each child, they will begin to see that children simply cannot be molded, as John Watson believed, into what others want them to become. This is not to say that children are born with a fixed personaltiy which remains unchanged throughout life. The child is born with a rather fixed temperament, which means that he or she is predisposed toward reacting in certain ways. The child's personality, however, develops from all that the child experiences, as filtered and fashioned by his or her temperament. Personality, therefore, is a product of both the inborn temperamental style and external parental and environmental influences that reach the child.

As powerful as parents and the child's own behavioral predispositions are in influencing children's development, these are not the only contributing factors. Parents and children do not exist in a vacuum. They are located in an environmental setting containing among other things, friends, and acquaintances, inanimate objects, and social institutions. The child will be affected by the neighborhood, the school, peers, the media, health care, the state of the economy--indeed, the whole of the physical and social environment to which the child is exposed.

Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) has underscored the importance of the whole ecology or environment of the child in determining what the child becomes. He has also pointed out how parents' behavior is affected by the broader environment, too. In societies in which extended families are the norm, parenting does not appear to be as difficult or anxiety-provoking as in societies where nuclear families prevail. The presence of grandparents and other clan members may relieve many of parents' practical needs and provide emotional support to the parents. A tragic example of what can happen when such support is not available can be seen in many cases of child abuse. Although there are many factors that make parents neglect or strike out at children, one that emerges with great regularity is a parent's sense of alienation and aloneness. The abusing parent generally feels a great burden of responsibility which cannot be mitigated because there is no one the parent can turn to for help.

Another significant factor in the child's ecology has been shown to have an important impact on development by Kenneth Keniston and the Carnegie Council on Children in their book, All Our Children. This element is the economic system of the country. Children whose parents are chronically unemployed will undoubtedly be adversely affected. Children whose family incomes are below the poverty level will also suffer. Not only will these children be deprived of services and experiences that money can buy, but more importantly, as the Carnegie report points out, if a child sees too many doors closed to the adults he or she knows best, the child may learn "to expect failure of himself just as the world expects it of him." In addition, children are affected by the length of the work day in American industry and by industry's decision about whether its employees are to be moved from city to city every few years. They are influenced too by their parents' frequent inability to find or afford satisfactory day care arrangements. And children are affected by the ever-changing regulations concerning the availability of food stamps as well as a thousand and one other decisions made by government at the federal, state, and local levels.

It is becoming clear that our society has a special responsibility to children. Since parents are not the only socializing agents for children, their efforts alone cannot ensure the best possible developmental outcome for their children. To promote optimal development, parents can no longer remain content to simply do their best for children at home. They must also begin to do their best for children in the public domain. They must speak out when the media treat children as only consumers to be manipulated and exploited. They must also let their voices be heard when a governmental policy, either by omission or commission, threatents the well-being of children. They must do whatever they can to improve the national climate for child rearing. In short they must become nothing less than social activisits and effective advocates on behalf of children.

An appreciation for the many elements contributing to child development suggests, therefore, that parents should expand their role. They should not only be private parents, trying to maximize their own personal effectiveness in helping their children grow, but they should

also enter the public arena, speakng out and lobbying for a society more responsive and supportive of children's needs. This may be more work for parents, but it is work that must be done. The rewards that will emerge will be numerous. Parents will have the pleasure of knowing they are doing all they can for their children. Many of their anxieties will be reduced as the rest of society comes to share in the tasks of child rearing. And most importantly, children will benefit from being reared in an environment where all the conditions--from mothers and fathers to business hours and children's toys--are designed to foster their optimal development.

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APPENDIX

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Child Rearing

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